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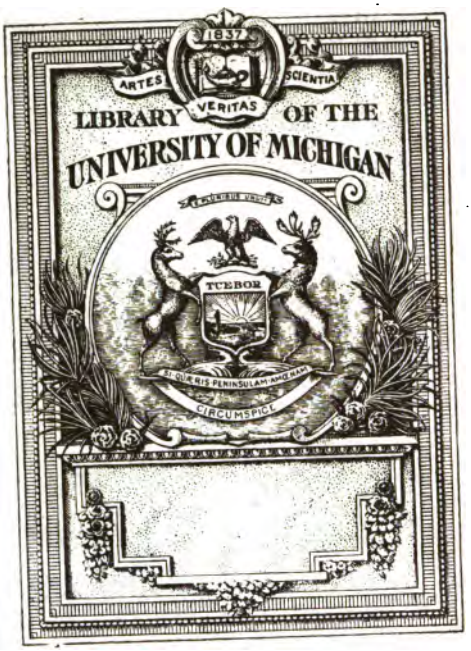
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THE GIFT OF
Howard M. Holmes

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A VIEW

OF THE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF

ENGLISH WARS,

FROM

THE INVASION OF THIS COUNTRY BY JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ANTHONY ROBINSON.

"Heu quantæ miſeris cædes Laurentibus inſtant!"

VIRGIL.

"Un conquerant eſt un homme que les dieux, irrités contre le genre humain, "ont donné à la terre dans leur colère, pour ravager les royaumes, pour répandre "par tout l'effroi, la miſère, le déſeſpoir, & pour faire autant d'eſclâves qu'il y a "d'hommes libres."

FENELON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1798.

DEDICATION.

To WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq. F.R.S.

MY DEAR SIR,

You do not at this moment know that I have been employed in writing the following work; you are not, therefore, answerable for any part of its contents. Conscious that I have been actuated, in this composition, by the simple desire of preventing the destruction of our species, and the violation of their rights, I think it not improper to present it to one whose important public

Rel. Mss 4-26-33

labours appear to me to have the ſame object. To inſtruct mankind, we muſt appeal to them in various ways; I have endeavoured to paint the miſery which the people of this country have ſuffered by impoſitions upon their ignorance, whilſt you have *demonſtrated*, by calculations which cannot deceive, the ruin which their preſent folly will bring upon themſelves and their poſterity. Proceed, my dear Sir, in your virtuous career, until your country regard you with the ſame affection with which you are now regarded by all your private friends, and with the ſame gratitude with which you have inſpired all your near connexions. You have not inverted the order of nature in the expanſion of your affections, you have not learned to profeſs a love for your country and your kind, before you have exemplified your attachment to thoſe with whom

whom nature has more intimately connected you.

" God loves from whole to parts: but human ſoul
" Muſt riſe from individual to the whole.
" Self-love but ſerves the virtuous mind to wake,
" As the ſmall pebble ſtirs the peaceful lake;
" The centre moved, a circle ſtraight ſucceeds,
" Another ſtill, and ſtill another ſpreads;
" Friend, parent, neighbour, firſt it will embrace;
" His country next, and next all human race."

Be aſſured that of all thoſe who rejoice in your friendſhip, there is not one more proud of that diſtinction than

Your obliged and faithful ſervant,

LONDON, *June* 1, 1798.

A. ROBINSON.

PREFACE.

ALL the reſearches which have been made into antiquity have led to one concluſion, that the earth was very thinly peopled in early times; and, indeed, it does not yet groan under the burden of the human race. He, who but imperfectly comprehends the nature of man, antecedently to his knowledge of actual facts, would be inclined to conclude, that a number of reaſonable beings, formed into a ſociety in any country, would, in order to ſupply their wants, cultivate the ground, and never dream of ſeeking another region, much leſs of an hoſtile invaſion of one already in the poſſeſſion of others, until their numbers exceeded what the land could ſupply; and then, and not till then, he would expect the beginning of war. Far different from this, however, have been the cauſes of wars among mankind.

Men are uniformly guided in their voluntary conduct by the belief that they are promoting their own intereſt and ſecuring ſome advantage. After they were formed into ſmall tribes, one tribe made war upon another, in order, no doubt, to wreſt ſomething from it, which it either could not otherwiſe obtain, or not without ſubmitting to what it judged to be even a greater evil than war. He who flies to the gaming-table rather than ſubmit to induſtry, is actuated by a ſimilar principle. It is then of the firſt importance, in order to diſſuade mankind from acts of hoſtility, to convince them that they miſcalculate their intereſt when they attempt to promote it by ſuch means. And how can we better do this, than by the adduction of particular examples of diſappointed and ſuffering ambition?

Whether one tribe in attacking another ſerves its own partial intereſt or not (as in this caſe the *gain* of the one is the *loſs* of the other, in addition to the *deſtruction* occaſioned by the attack to each), judging for the great family of mankind, we muſt pronounce meaſures of war to be eſſentially immoral

moral and injurious. This we muſt do, unleſs we are prepared to deny the general obligation of juſtice, and the whole ſyſtem of private right; and to maintain that we live under the ſimple law of force, and that every nation and every man has a right to ſeize whatever he has the power to obtain.

The earth opens her treaſures, and invites our labour; it is the price ſhe impoſes upon us for the enjoyments ſhe has to beſtow. He who cultivates her with moſt care receives her beſt gifts, and none are deprived by his induſtry of what they had a right to enjoy; for her fecundity is not exhauſted, nor is the time near when ſhe ſhall be unequal to the ſupport of the human race *.

* La terre, cette bonne mère, multiplie ſes dons ſelon le nombre de ſes enfans, qui méritent ſes fruits par leur travail. L'ambition & l'avarice des hommes ſont les ſeules ſources de leur malheur. Les hommes veulent tout avoir, & ils ſe rendent malheureux par le déſir du ſuperflu: s'ils vouloient vivre ſimplement, & ſe contenter de ſatisfaire aux vrais beſoins, on verroit par tout l'abondance, la joie, l'union & la paix.

FENELON.

Still

Still men imagine that they have *a private intereſt* at leaſt, and nations act under this conviction, in robbing others of the fruits of their labour; and as a ſenſe of duty will rarely triumph over the deſire of enjoyment, it becomes us to ſhew them that this concluſion is falſe. That he who invades the rights of others injures himſelf, and that "ſelf-love and "ſocial are the ſame," are maxims which muſt be true in every perfect ſyſtem; and, we hope, that the ſyſtem of the univerſe is as perfect as its author. Were it, however, difficult to determine, after an exact inquiry, whether theſe maxims be true when applied to every human being, it would not follow that it could not be proved that war cannot be the intereſt of *any nation*, underſtanding by that word *the individuals* of whom a nation is compoſed.

They are *few* who reap the ſuppoſed advantages of war, but millions feel the evils of its ravages; convinced that even the *few* are deceived in thinking themſelves benefited by this ſcourge of the human race, our object, in the following pages, is principally

principally to illuſtrate the ſufferings of the million *.

Our occupation is humble, and our taſk unencumbered with difficulty; but nature, by the ſimpleſt means, produces the moſt ſalutary and important effects. He who teaches the million their true intereſt, palſies the ambition and humbles the power of tyrants, by whatever names they are called, emperors, kings, miniſters, or patriots; for they who would raiſe and guide a ſtorm muſt have obedient elements to command.

Let none undervalue the importance of opinion. Thoſe who are inclined to do this, we recommend to ſtudy the hiſtory of the papal power, that ſtupendous ſyſtem which, directing the opinions of the multitude, by a word overturned

* A man who cannot be now ſuſpected of being betrayed into error by a love of liberty and the people, ſays of the wars which have afflicted Germany—"Des guerres politiques a "taient périodiquement cette contrée pour des intérêts de cours "ou de familles; car ceux des peuples n'entraient pour rien, "ni dans ces guerres, ni dans les traités de paix qui les termi-"naient."—*Tableau Specul. de L'Europe, par Dumouriez.*

thrones,

thrones, armed the people with fury, or ſoothed them to peace.

The following View of Engliſh Wars we preſent to the people, in order to convince them that war can never be *beneficial to them* when it is unjuſt, and that it can never be juſt when it is offenſive, or even when defenſive, unleſs the attack be ſerious and the cauſe important. If our readers lament the injuſtice and folly of their anceſtors, which we think they may juſtly do, let them, by a wiſer and more virtuous conduct, inſtruct poſterity at once to reverence them, and to preſerve themſelves from the hypocriſy of thoſe who aſpire to be the maſters of mankind. This is no party production, it is intended to ſerve no temporary purpoſe, it was dictated by no other deſire or aim, than that of preſerving the peace of ſociety, and guarding the virtuous againſt the artifices of the oppreſſors of the world.

We lay no claim to novelty of diſcovery, or profundity of reſearch; we have ſelected from the hiſtorians of our own country, facts which they all verify, thinking

thinking that that labour is not loſt which is employed in extracting a leſſon of wiſdom from the records of ages, and in bringing into a clear and narrow view the ſalutary information which lies ſcattered and mixed with various matter in the pages of many unwieldy volumes.

He who inculcates the precepts of morality in the language of facts, adopts a method of inſtruction, in our opinion, not the leaſt likely to be effectual.

ERRATA.

Page 7, line 16, *for* overrun, *read* overran.
84, —— 24, *for* his campaign, *read* this campaign.
90, —— 10, *for* king had, *read* king who had.
115, —— 30, *for* belongs, *read* belong.
149, —— 13, *for* fortifies, *read* fortify.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. Page 1.

The invaſion of this iſland by Julius Cæſar. Productive of no advantages to Rome. The wiſe adminiſtration of Agricola. Effect of their foreign conqueſts upon the Roman people and government. The Romans obliged to abandon their conqueſts in Britain. The Britons, weakened by the Roman policy, are unable to defend themſelves againſt the Picts and Scots, who make upon them a predatory war. The Britons neglect to cultivate the ground, and ſuffer by famine and peſtilence. They invite the Saxons to come to their aſſiſtance againſt the Picts. The Saxons turn their arms againſt the Britons. Continual wars between the Saxons and the Britons, yet the Britons not extirpated. The Saxon warriors are Chriſtians. *Character of Offa, king of Mercia, who firſt eſtabliſhed the right of tithes to the clergy in this iſland. The Danes viſit this iſland, now called England. King Ethelwolf, the father of Alfred, conſtantly at war with the Danes. Character of Alfred the Great.*

A breach

A breach of the order of hereditary ſucceſſion. Ethelwald's war. Obſervations on hereditary right. Character of Dunſtan the monk. His murder of Queen Elgiva. Death of King Edwi. Character of King Edgar. The tribute of wolves' heads. Swein, king of Denmark, invades England. Miſery of the Engliſh. Swein the founder of a new dynaſty: he and his ſon kings of England. Danes loſe their power in England, and a king of the Saxon line crowned, yet not according to the order of hereditary ſucceſſion. Harold becomes king. Another breach of hereditary ſucceſſion. Harold ſlain in battle, and William the Norman becomes king of England.

CHAP. II. Page 20.

The tyranny of William the Conqueror, and the miſery of England in his reign. Death of William. His religion. His will. Breach in the order of hereditary ſucceſſion, and Henry the firſt, king of England. Henry invades Normandy. Another breach in the order of hereditary ſucceſſion. Stephen uſurps the throne. The clergy ſupport the pretenſions of Stephen. Wretchedneſs of the people of England. Wars between Stephen and Maude, daughter of Henry the Firſt. Maude made queen, and Stephen dethroned. Stephen again ſucceſsful and in poſſeſſion of the crown. Son of Maude invades England. Compromiſe. Stephen dies.

CHAP.

CHAP. III. Page 29.

Henry, the ſon of Maude, aſcends the throne. Henry the Second makes war upon France. Henry holds the pope's ſtirrup. Henry makes Ireland tributary to him. His ſons conſpire againſt him. His death and character. Richard undertakes to go to the Holy Land. Maſſacre of the Jews. Tyranny of Longchamp, biſhop of Ely. Reflections on the Croiſades. John aſcends the throne. Breach in the order of ſucceſſion. Arthur makes war upon John. John murders Arthur. Makes England and Ireland tributary to the Pope. Magna charta. Conduct of the Pope. Rebellious Barons excommunicated. Civil war. Death and character of John. Henry the Third invades France. The Pope lord of all the kingdoms of the earth. Jeſus Chriſt had this ſovereignty offered to him, but would not comply with the conditions. Pope gives Sicily to Henry's ſon. War made to obtain Sicily. Debt. Civil war. King taken priſoner. The firſt parliament of repreſentatives. Death and character of Henry the Third. Edward invades Wales. Conquers Wales, and makes his ſon Prince of Wales. *Diſpute about the right of ſucceſſion to the throne of Scotland. Referred to Edward. Baſe conduct of Edward. Invades Scotland, and takes the king of Scots priſoner. Sir William Wallace boldly reſiſts Edward. Put to death by Edward. War with Scotland continued. Bruce the aſſerter of the independence of Scotland. Death and character*

of Edward the Firſt. Edward the Second and Piers Gavaſton. War with Scotland continued, but carried on very feebly. Battle of Bannock-burn. Hugh Spencer. Civil war. War with Scotland renewed. Edward's queen connects herſelf in France with Roger Mortimer and invades England. Depoſition and murder of Edward. Wretched ſtate of England. Edward the Third continues the war with Scotland. Civil war. Claims the crown of France. Foundation of this ſtrange claim. Invades France. Terrible debt and heavy taxes. Victory at ſea. Battle of Crecy. Truce. Miſery of the people of England. Battle of Poictiers. Peace. France makes war upon Edward the Black Prince. Death of king Edward and Edward the Black Prince. Character of King Edward.

CHAP. IV. Page 71.

War with France continued. Walter the Tyler. Inſurrection of the commons of England. Wiſdom and moderation of the demands of the commons. Baſe murder of Walter. Reflections on this inſurrection. Scandalous revocation of the royal charters. Violation of the king's promiſe. Dreadful executions. The king depoſed and murdered by Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaſter. Breach in the order of ſucceſſion. Henry of Bolingbroke made king, and called Henry the Fourth. The Virgin Mary brings from heaven oil for anointing Henry king. War with France and Scotland not carried on with vigour. Inſurrection in

Wales. Civil war. Battle of Shrewſbury. A conſpiracy. A peſtilence. Death of Henry. His great piety. Henry the Fifth. Wickliff. Inſurrection of the Lollards. Lord Cobham. Cruelty of prieſts, and reaſon of their cruelty. Invaſion of France. Treaty of Arras. Death of Henry. His character. Joan of Arc. Her heroiſm, talents, virtues. Murdered by the prieſts. Wretchedneſs of the people of England. Loſs of all their conqueſts in France. Civil war in England, and general diſſatisfaction and complaint. The duke of York avails himſelf of the popular diſcontents, and claims the crown. War on account of the houſes of York and Lancaſter. The crown thrice won and loſt in three months. Henry depoſed, and the duke of York crowned king by the name of Edward the Fourth. Battle of Towton. Edward's cruelty. Reflections on hereditary right. Inſurrection in Yorkſhire. The earl of Warwick invades England. Edward flies. Edward invades England. Battle of Barnet. Edward triumphs, and is eſtabliſhed on the throne. Murders the Prince of Wales. Edward famed for piety. Death and real character. Practical influence of Chriſtianity. Uſurpation of Richard the Third. Henry, earl of Richmond, claims the crown, though he had no legal right to it. Invades the kingdom. Battle of Boſworth. Death and character of Richard. Henry the Seventh. Lambert Simnel invades England, and claims the crown. Henry invades France. Perkin Warbec. Henry murders the earl of Warwick. Death and character of Henry.

CHAP. V. Page 108.

Henry the Eighth makes war upon France in behalf of Pope Julius. War with Scotland. War with France, and an alliance with Charles, emperor of Germany. Henry changes his mind, and, diſcarding the emperor, forms an alliance with France. Cardinal Wolſey. Henry ſeizes the property of the church. An inſurrection. Reflections upon the property of the church. Henry at war with his wives. His journey to York. War with Scotland the conſequence of that journey. Henry's death and character. Cranmer's real character. Henry's recommendation to his executors to marry his ſon to the young queen of Scots. The conduct of the executors. The war of courtſhip. Inſurrections. War with France. Death of Edward the Sixth. Lady Jane Gray. Inſurrection. Mary proclaimed queen. War with France. The finances. Queen Elizabeth. Philip, the huſband of the late queen, wants to marry Elizabeth. War with Spain. The Spaniſh Armada. Character of Philip and of Elizabeth. The intereſts of the people not the cauſe of war. Prieſts and nobles guide the people, and incline them to war. James the Firſt hates war. Prince Charles's voyage to Spain. The conduct of Buckingham. Prince Charles marries Henrietta of France. Death of James. Charles attempts to raiſe money without conſent of parliament. War with France. Charles innovates in religion. Inſurrection in Scotland. The doctrine of reſiſtance examined. Civil war. King Charles put to death.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. Page 142.

Oliver Cromwell. War in Ireland. War in Scotland. Fanaticism and cruelty. War with Holland. Navigation Act. The parliament broken up by Cromwell. Admiral Blake. Tyranny of Cromwell. Death and character. Charles the Second restored. Reflections on the revolution under Cromwell. War with Holland. War with France. War with Denmark. Plague in London. Fire of London. The Cabal. War with Holland. Charles a pensioner of France. James the Second a zealous catholic. Insurrection in favour of Monmouth. Argyle's rebellion. James attacks the church. His deposition. Ridiculous reasoning of the church and parliament on the subject of his deposition. The English elect William, Prince of Orange, king.

CHAP. VII. Page 163.

Reflections on hereditary succession. William ambitious of military fame. William subdues Ireland. War with France. Massacre of Glencoe. Unjust legal proceedings. Corruption of the courts of law. National debt. On the death of William, Anne elected queen. War with France. Reflections on the balance of power as a cause of war.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. Page 176.

George Lewis choſen king on the death of queen Anne. Rebellion of 1715. *Reflections on the executions which followed this rebellion. The ſeptennial act. The triple alliance. The quadruple alliance. Reflections on hereditary right. War with Spain. Alliance formed againſt the emperor in contempt of the balance of power. War with France and Spain. Death of George the Firſt. Sir Robert Walpole. Factions. Corruption. War with France. Battle of Dettingen. Rebellion of* 1745. *Battle of Culloden. The grace of life and cheap defence of nations. Peace of Aix la Chappelle. War of* 1755. *Pitt, earl of Chatham. George the Third an Engliſhman. Joy at his acceſſion. The war againſt France and Spain continued. Expence of the war of* 1755. *The deſign to tax America. The ſtamp act. The queſtion of right diſcuſſed. The queſtion of repreſentation diſcuſſed. Falkland iſlands. Reſiſtance of America. War with America, France, Spain, and Holland. Conſequences of the American revolution. Preparation for war in defence of the Stadtholder. Attempt at a war with Spain. Attempt at a war with Ruſſia. Conduct of C. J. Fox. Diſappointment of W. Pitt. Revolution of France. War with France, with Holland and Spain. Edmund Burke. Thomas Paine. Cauſes of war in general. Scheme for preventing wars.*

A VIEW

A VIEW, &c.

CHAPTER I.

JULIUS CÆSAR twice invaded this iſland, not becauſe its inhabitants were then in a condition to repay the expenſe of his expeditions, but to add another country to thoſe which he had already conquered, to ſwell the importance of his triumph, and increaſe the ſplendour of his fame.

The Roman eagle had already been diſplayed in all the countries of Europe, and the Roman name was terrible in every part of the world.

Neglecting the beſt employments of man, the labours of the loom and the plough, the Romans, attending only to war and conqueſt, had become the ſcourge of nations, and the terror of the univerſe.

Cæſar had little reaſon to triumph in his ſucceſs in Britain; the prince of that part of the iſland now called Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, he indeed conquered, and made the peo-

ple of Eſſex, Middleſex, and Surrey, ſubmit to him; theſe engaged to be tributary to the Romans, but it cannot now be aſcertained whether this tribute was ever paid.

Cæſar returned to his country full of glory, and made that uſe of his conqueſts which conquerors always make; at the head of his victorious army he dictated laws to unhappy Rome, trampled upon her liberties, and made an ignorant ſoldiery, the inſtruments of his power, deliver into the rapacious hands of their maſter, the fair inheritance of their own children. Thus are the people of every country abuſed. They, in the cauſe of their maſters, every where act in contempt of danger and of death, and every where ſee thoſe tyrants impoveriſh and inſult their deſcendants, and trample their honour in the duſt!

When the diſturbances of Rome, ſuffered the maſters of the world to breathe, they inſtantly began to think of the countries they had conquered, and to ſend armies to reduce them, if not already ſubdued, to complete ſubjection.

The emperor Claudius was the firſt, after the return of Cæſar, who had leiſure to turn his attention to Britain, and he ſent a force into the iſland about A. D. 43.

The arms of the emperor were a conſiderable time employed againſt the Britons, who diſdained the thought of ſubjection, not without ſucceſs; they were victorious in many battles, and the celebrated

Caractacus

Caractacus was made priſoner; yet ſo violent was the ſtruggle, and ſo ſlow the progreſs of the tyrants, that Claudius died before this iſland was reduced to the peaceful acknowledgment of his authority.

Nero, the infamous ſucceſſor of Claudius to the Roman tyranny, prodigal of blood at home, was no leſs ſanguinary in Britain; for his generals conducted the war in this country with infinite cruelty; but the brutal parricide periſhed before his object was effected.

The accompliſhed Agricola indeed attempted to reconcile to their bondage ſuch as ſubmitted to the Roman power, by inſtructing them in Roman literature, and introducing into this country the arts and ſciences of their new maſters; but theſe brave iſlanders were ever riſing in inſurrection, and the emperor Domitian, who now wielded the power of the Roman tyranny, recalled Agricola to Rome.

The plunder of the world had corrupted the Romans, and deſtroyed their liberties at home, and their country was now daily torn to pieces by ferocious and bloody factions. The theatre of perfidy, ſeditions, murders, and hourly inſurrections, unhappy Rome received the reward of its rapacity and ambition in the convulſions of its vitals, and was obliged to call home the armies which had ſubdued and deſolated ſo many countries. Thus was Britain freed from the dominion of her conquerors, whoſe hiſtory is a fair comment upon the policy of conqueſts and the advantages of wars.

But the Britons awaked to new misfortunes. The Romans, to ſecure their obedience, had ſtripped them of their warlike character, and left them an eaſy prey to any new invader.

The Scots and the Picts now haraſſed the Britons by repeated predatory expeditions into their country. Theſe reſtleſs and ferocious people choſe to murder the Britons, and to ſeize the fruits of their land, rather than to cultivate their own country. Like the highwayman of the eighteenth century, they preferred the dangers and the guilt of robbery, to the enjoyments, ſecurity, and innocence, of a life of labour. The enfeebled Britons now neglected to ſow, where they knew they ſhould not be ſuffered to reap, and famine and peſtilence raged through the land.

Again they flew to the plough, to eſcape from enemies more dreadful than the Scots and Picts; and to protect their harveſt, they prayed the ſuccour of the Saxons.

The day in which they invited the Saxons to their ſhores was followed by a long night of repentance and ſorrow. The Saxons encountered the invaders of Britain; but they protected only to ſubdue.

The Britons, more unfortunate than Ulyſſes, were now toſſed between Scylla and Charybdis, and not fated to eſcape from the dangers which threatened them.

The Saxons turned the arms, which had driven away

away the Scots and Picts, againſt thoſe they had engaged to defend.

Wretched, however, muſt have been the condition of the Saxons in their own country, if the choice they now made was wiſe. After centuries of inceſſant war, they indeed confined the ancient Britons within the limits of Wales and Cumberland, and eſtabliſhed ſeven kingdoms of their own in this iſland.

If the Jews, after having received the divine command to exterminate the Canaanites, found it impoſſible to accompliſh that great work, we are not to be aſtoniſhed that the extermination of the Britons was an achievement above the mere human power of the Saxons. The wars which ravaged this iſland during the Saxon heptarchy were conſtant and dreadful; their detail would be tedious, and too uniformly ſhocking to be endured.

One king quarrelled with another, and the ſubjects of each were led out to ſlaughter and death. The families of the ſlain were doomed to wear out a wretched life of ignorance, poverty, and contempt. The conquering king forgot the inſtruments of his triumph, and diſdained the deſcendants of thoſe who bled to eſtabliſh his power.

If we are to judge of the maxims of theſe Chriſtian kings by their conduct, it appears that they thought it right to ſeize a kingdom by any means, of which war and aſſaſſination were the moſt common and in moſt general uſe. Revolutions were the

occurrence of every day; in which the people had never any intereſt, except the privilege of dying in the cauſe of their tyrants.

Many of theſe Saxon princes were a diſgrace to human nature; the moſt infamous of whom was Offa, king of Mercia, who, after murdering thouſands in wars of plunder and ambition, invited to his court Ethelred, king of the Eaſt Angles, to marry his daughter, with his entire approbation.

Ethelred, with the warmth of a lover and the confidence of a ſon, went to the court of Mercia; but "chambers were not ſafe," and this tyrant, more dreadful than Macbeath, murdered his gueſt and his ſon, ſeized the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia, and added it to his own.

How vain are the deſigns of men! The gods ſeem to ſport with them—for, after Offa had added almoſt all England to his dominions, he was ſcarcely cold in his grave, before his vaſt kingdom was torn to pieces.

Offa, however, after all his crimes, was a true ſon of the church, the prime favourite of the pope, and the delight of the clergy. He aſſiſted the clergy to eſtabliſh their claim of tithes, now firſt advanced by them as their right in England; he made a pilgrimage to Rome, ſettled a revenue out of his kingdom of Mercia upon the pope, built a monaſtery, and died in the true faith, of which he had been a zealous defender.

How

How ſhall we account for this phenomenon? a blood-ſtained aſſaſſin and a robber, profeſſing Chriſtianity, idolized by the clergy, and all but canonized by the church! It may be explained. Superſtition and immorality mutually cheriſh and ſupport each other, and that religion which teaches, that to ſerve man is to obey God, was not the Chriſtianity of the eighth century.

The diſtracted ſtate of the different kingdoms of the heptarchy afforded Egbert, king of Weſſex, who aſcended the throne about A. D. 800, an opportunity of making large conqueſts.

He did not let ſlip a ſeaſon ſo favourable to the wiſhes of a king; but, after firſt conquering Mercia, which Offa had deſtined to be the ſeat of Engliſh empire, he overrun all England, and became the firſt monarch of that kingdom.

In accompliſhing theſe purpoſes of his ambition Egbert was the occaſion of the death of more men than all the monarchs of Europe have ever been inſtrumental in preſerving.

Now the Danes began to viſit the ſhores of England with the ſimple view of plunder; they diſturbed the repoſe of Egbert, and of his deſcendants who ſucceeded to his throne.

Egbert dying, was ſucceeded by his ſon Ethelwolf, who was continually teaſed by the incurſions of the Danes. Ethelwolf, at his death, had four ſurviving ſons, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethered, and Alfred. He divided his kingdom by will between his two

elder ſons Ethelbald and Ethelbert, but they both died ſoon after their father, and were ſucceeded by Ethered, who had a moſt tempeſtuous reign, being involved in conſtant and ſevere war with the Danes, whom he, with difficulty, prevented from over-running the kingdom.

To this prince, A. D. 871, ſucceeded his brother, the immortal Alfred.

Alfred was twenty-two years of age when he aſcended the throne of England, and never would his ſubjects have been led forth to war, if the country had not then been ſuffering from the almoſt daily attacks of the rapacious Danes.

Alfred was one of the moſt remarkable men recorded in the hiſtory of the world. Learned in an unlettered age, humane and compaſſionate amidſt the din of arms; a hero of matchleſs courage, yet willing rather to narrow, than ambitious to extend, his power; temperate, mild, juſt, when theſe virtues had ſcarcely a name amongſt his contemporaries, Alfred ſtands recorded as the inſtructor of his age and country, and the friend of the human race.

Nature has forbidden man to draw general concluſions, and prohibited him from boaſting of the knowledge of univerſal truth.

When all men were ready, from the hiſtory of early times, to conclude that the virtues dwelled not with princes, ſhe commanded the exiſtence of an Alfred, and a pleaſing aſtoniſhment ſeized every mind.

It were not to our purpoſe to narrate the conduct of the wars of Alfred; we have to do with the cauſes and conſequences of wars, and not with the details of their progreſs. On the part of Alfred and of England his wars were juſt; but he is the firſt, and the laſt monarch, of whom we believe it can be juſtly ſaid, that in his own defence he ſlew not one through revenge, nor deprived an individual of life whom his clemency could preſerve.

The formation of ſuch a character as Alfred, in ſuch times and under ſuch circumſtances as thoſe were in which he lived, is a ſingular and ſtriking phenomenon, which we recommend to the ſtudy of thoſe, who maintain that man is compoſed of paſſive atoms, which ſimply receive the impreſſion and obey the impulſe of the matter which ſurrounds them.

Edward, the eldeſt ſon of Alfred, ſucceeded his father; but the ſucceſſion was diſputed by Ethelwald, the ſon of Ethelbert the elder brother of Alfred. Ethered and Alfred had ſucceeded to the throne by virtue of their father's will, to the excluſion of Ethelwald, who was then an infant; but being now in the prime of life, he attempted to aſſert his claim to the crown *.

He attempted to attach the Danes in Northumberland to his intereſt, and was not without ſucceſs; but not thinking himſelf yet ſufficiently powerful to take the field, Ethelwald went over to the continent,

* Chron. Saxon. p. 100.

where

where he collected an army compoſed of people of different nations, and with theſe he arrived in England A. D. 904. The Danes of Northumberland joined him in great numbers, and he was powerful enough to overrun, which he did, all Mercia, ſpreading deſolation and ruin wherever he went.

His triumph and his power were ſhort, for, in a ſkirmiſh againſt a party of Kentiſhmen, he was ſlain, and then his army diſperſed. Edward thus was eſtabliſhed on the throne of his father.

Our preſent high notions of hereditary right had at this time no exiſtence, and we ſhall find, in our progreſs, many interruptions of the ſucceſſion, when hereditary right was fully eſtabliſhed by law. Indeed, as all forms of government muſt be either matters of divine appointment, or contrivances of human wiſdom, it appears a little extraordinary that thoſe who thought them the former, ſhould contend for hereditary ſucceſſion, when no long chain of kings, who, had thus come to the throne, was recorded in the hiſtory of the country; and not leſs extraordinary, that thoſe who conſidered all forms of government to be mere human contrivances, ſhould ever think the hereditary claims of one man above another, worth the ſad expence of war.

The diſpute between Edward and Ethelwald appears, to vulgar comprehenſion, ſufficiently humbling to human nature, nothing leſs than whether the people of England were property to be inherited or to be left by will; and to ſettle this point thouſands

thouſands flew to arms, thouſands bled, and deſtruction threatened the whole country! But he will be no ſtranger to ſuch reflections as theſe, who ſhall travel with us through the Hiſtory of England.

Edward was employed nearly his whole reign in ſubduing the Danes, and in building ſtrong places for the future ſecurity of England; and, after ſucceeding almoſt to his wiſhes in theſe objects, he died, at Farrington in Berkſhire, A. D. 925, and Athelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded to his throne.

Athelſtan, and his brother and ſucceſſor Edmund, were invaded by Anlaff, the pretender to the kingdom of Northumberland, and others his friends, who aſpired to diſtinction, whom they repeatedly defeated, and reduced at laſt to ſubmiſſion and to Chriſtianity; but they neither believed the one, nor ſincerely made the other. The wars conducted, however, by theſe two princes, juſt on their part, becauſe defenſive, afford another proof that the wretched people, whom each contending chief uſes, and whom all chiefs deſpiſe, are ever ready to be led to battle, and to death, in quarrels in which they have no concern, and in defence of men who are their tyrants and their butchers.

On the death of Edmund his brother Edred aſcended the throne, though he left two infant ſons, Edwi and Edgar. Here is another inſtance of the violation of hereditary right.

Indeed, although at this time the doctrine of hereditary

reditary right ſeemed to be tacitly allowed in England, yet it is evident that the *choice of the people*, by whoſe will alone lawful kings reign, was conſidered as the beſt and moſt important title to govern. The reign of Edred was neither long nor eventful; but when his health declined, he reſigned himſelf to the abſolute government of a wicked eccleſiaſtic, the renowned St. Dunſtan.

Edwi, the elder ſon of Edmund, ſucceeded Edred on the throne in the ſeventeenth year of his age.

This prince married his couſin, the beautiful Elgiva, contrary to the wiſhes and *commands* of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dunſtan the monk.

Theſe two brutal murderers treated the king with the greateſt indignity, ſeized and burned the face of his beloved queen, and ſent her into baniſhment, torn from her huſband and robbed of her beauty. Theſe execrable wretches, for whom language affords no name, now ſtirred up a rebellion againſt Edwi, by the hold that they, as prieſts, had of the public mind in theſe times of ignorance, and ſet up his brother Edgar as king. When the queen had eſcaped from her keepers in Ireland, whither ſhe had been baniſhed by the ruffian and traitorous prieſts, ſhe returned into England, but was intercepted at Glouceſter, and cruelly and foully murdered.

Edwi, receiving intelligence of this, died of grief, and the aſpiring Edgar aſcended the throne, guilty of a brother's blood; but he had the ſanction of the

the prieſthood, and their voice was then the voice of God!

This king is much celebrated by the monkiſh hiſtorians for his virtues and talents; but they are ſuſpicious evidence, as he was their ſervant and patron: they firſt led him to the throne, and they continued to praiſe him when he was ſafely ſeated upon it.

One meaſure of this king was worthy of praiſe, he impoſed an annual tribute on the princes of Wales of three hundred wolves heads, which tended to deſtroy the breed of theſe devouring animals. This was not, however, the beſt tribute he might have impoſed; the heads of three hundred monks annually, would have deſtroyed a breed of animals far more deſtructive and ferocious than the wolves of Wales.

Yet this ſainted king, for whom no praiſe has been thought exceſſive, and for whom a virtuous king was driven from the throne, for the indulgence of honourable love, by rapacious prieſts, is allowed, even by his friends, to have been addicted to the moſt criminal and profligate debauchery *.

Ethelred, the younger ſon of Edgar, ſucceeded to the throne upon the death of his brother, A. D. 978. He was called the Unready, and his reign is full of calamity and misfortune.

In the year 993, Swein king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway, in perſon invaded England

* W. Malmſ. l. 2. c. 8.

with

with a great fleet and army. Theſe princes ſpread deſolation through the country; but not ſucceeding to their full expectations, they were induced to depart the kingdom by a gift from the cowardly king of 16,000*l.*

In two years after their departure freſh armies of Danes arrived, A. D. 997, and carried on a war of devaſtation. Again this king had recourſe to his old expedient (which was the beſt *encouragement* he could give to invaders whoſe object was plunder), and purchaſed their forbearance for 24,000*l.*

The king, being now a widower, married a queen of Daniſh blood; but whilſt he was taking this meaſure of reconciliation and peace with the Danes, on Sunday, A. D. 1002, the Engliſh roſe upon the Danes, and made a general and indiſcriminate maſſacre of all ranks and conditions, of all ages and both ſexes. In this dreadful maſſacre fell Gunilda, ſiſter to Swein king of Denmark, with her huſband and children *.

Thus rouſed to reſentment, the king of Denmark raiſed an army, with which he landed in England as early as A. D. 1003.

The king prepared to reſiſt, with vigour, an enemy whoſe favour he could no longer hope to purchaſe; but firſt by one traitor, and then by another, this unfortunate monarch was betrayed, and his country overrun and laid waſte by the Danes.

* Chron. Sax. p. 133, &c.

No

No pen can deſcribe, or pencil repreſent, the horrors and miſery of this dreadful war. The Engliſh were laden with misfortune, and covered with diſgrace during the period of ten long years.

Canterbury, Oxford, Cambridge, Exeter, Norwich, and many other important towns, preſented nothing but heaps of ruins, under which almoſt all their inhabitants were buried. Alphage, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his clergy, were murdered with cold and unfeeling cruelty. The farmers, enjoying no longer any ſecurity, neglected to plough the ground, and famine and peſtilence made of the whole kingdom one diſmal grave.

Ethelred, betrayed by thoſe whom he had laden with honours and riches, ſeeing his fleets in the hands of his enemies, his armies diſperſed, and his kingdom one vaſt wilderneſs, exhibiting nothing but ruin and deſolation, retired to Normandy, whither he had already ſent his family, A. D. 1013, and left the triumphant Dane the conqueror of England.

Swein, however, ſoon died; the Engliſh immediately revolted; and, although Canute, the ſon of Swein, again ſubdued England, the Danes had in this country a troubled exiſtence: and, if the leaders ſeized and rioted upon the ſpoils of the Engliſh, the miſerable people whom they commanded received poverty and contempt as the reward of their miſguided valour.

The conſequence of theſe repeated wars, which depopulated and diſtracted the country, was a hor-

rible famine, which raged in the reign of Hardicanute*. This led to other events fatal to the Daniſh governors of this miſerable kingdom; for Hardicanute, in this ſeaſon of ſuffering, having impoſed a heavy tax upon the people, which they could not pay, they roſe upon the collectors, and killed two of them at Worceſter.

The tyrant, enraged at this mutinous reſiſtance, gave orders that the city ſhould be deſtroyed, and the inhabitants exterminated. His ruffians, Lords Godwin, Leofric, and Seward, deſtroyed the city; but the people, hearing of the intentions of the king before they were carried into execution, fled from the city into another part of the kingdom; from which they afterwards returned, after the tyrant's death, and rebuilt their city. Before thoſe who reſiſt oppreſſion be pronounced criminals, let us at leaſt have it proved that oppreſſion itſelf is no crime. It is a queſtion for the moraliſt to ſettle, whether reſiſtance, or paſſive obedience and ſubmiſſion, be beſt for mankind; for it has been aſſerted, and not without much plauſibility, that "univerſal reſiſtance would "produce univerſal peace."

Oppreſſion, however, will provoke, what we believe reaſon and nature juſtify; and the tyrant who overſtretches his power, often loſes his power and his life together.

The diſlike of this royal villain became every day more general and more powerful; and if his brutal

* Saxon. Chron. p. 156.

ſenſuality

ſenſuality had not carried him off, A. D. 1041, ſome virtuous arm would ſoon have ridded the world of a monſter.

The death of Hardicanute was the ſignal of revolt, and the Engliſh ſet up Edward the Confeſſor, ſon of king Ethelred and queen Emma, who happened to be in England, *to the excluſion of the lawful Saxon heir to the crown*, Edward, ſon of king Edmund, ſurnamed the Exile. Thus the Danes loſt their power in England, and the devaſtation their wars had occaſioned, and the thouſands their arms had ſlain, were only remembered as monuments of the folly of the unambitious *people*, who had been, by their rulers, "led "like lambs to be ſlaughtered."

On the death of Edward the Confeſſor, A. D. 1066, Harold, a powerful nobleman, was crowned king of England, although Edgar Atheling, the ſon of Edward the Exile, who was now dead, was on the ſpot, and the undoubted heir to the throne.

Harold ſucceeded to the throne by his wealth and popularity, having no legal pretenſions whatever, not even the nomination of the late king, though that was the claim he ſet up, but was never able to prove.

William, duke of Normandy, had extorted a promiſe from Harold, when he was at his court in Normandy, to favour his ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne; and now, although the heir was alive and in England, and although the duke of Normandy had no legal claim whatever to the crown, he ſet himſelf to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of Harold, and induced his

miſerable ſubjects to aſſiſt him, in the proſecution of his purpoſe, to invade England.

The firſt attempts upon England were unſucceſsful; but William duke of Normandy arriving in perſon at the head of an army, a deciſive battle was fought between the army of William and that of Harold, in which Harold was ſlain, and his army completely defeated by the Norman, October 14, A. D. 1066.

The immediate conſequence of this battle was the acceſſion of William, commonly called the Conqueror, to the throne of England.

It is time that the reader ſhould pauſe, and review the facts which have been brought forward. He will not, we believe, be able to diſcover any grand principle which can be pleaded as a juſtification of any of the wars we have noticed. Few of them were undertaken under the pretence of defending the ark of the Lord; and when any thing of religion entered into the pleas of the contending chiefs, the hypocriſy is ſo odious and ſo obvious, that the aſſaſſin's knife is always ſeen ſhining through the canonicals.

Hereditary right in kings was a plea too ſlender to ſupport the weight of the moſt trivial cauſe, for the ſucceſſion is ſcarcely ever regular during the reign of three tyrants. A naked and obvious principle of robbery was generally the actuating motive of the contending kings; but then they robbed for themſelves,

themſelves, and the wretched people were led to ſlaughter, but never to reward.

This preſents us with a ſad ſpectacle; would to God it were only the ſpectacle of paſt times! wicked and cunning men leading forth the ignorant to purpoſes of rapine and murder, and then converting the power thus acquired, into inſtruments of tyranny, pointed againſt the breaſts of thoſe who have been the means of the acquiſition!

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM the Conqueror found not the throne of England a quiet poſſeſſion; inſurrections and invaſions perplexed and diſturbed the beſt part of his reign.

The Engliſh, as was to be expected, hated the Norman influence under which they were obliged to live, and this induced them to favour the hereditary pretenſions of Edgar Atheling, and the aſpirations of the ſons of Harold, in favour of whom there were conſtant movements for a long time in the kingdom. The north of England was always a ſcene of inſurrection, to revenge which, the Conqueror marched with an army, and as far as Hexham, maſſacred man, woman, and child, and burnt all the towns and villages, ſpreading devaſtation and ruin wherever he came. In this general maſſacre, and the famine which it occaſioned, more than a hundred thouſand perſons were murdered, and it is reaſonably ſuppoſed that this tyrant, in his different wars, occaſioned by the conqueſt of England, was the cauſe of the death of more than three hundred thouſand perſons.

The Conqueror did not after this enjoy much tranquillity; for his ſon Robert raiſed a party againſt him

him in Normandy, and headed an inſurrection, which was quelled at the expence of much blood.

The laſt war in which this bloody tyrant was engaged was againſt the king of France. The *cauſe* of this war was a witticiſm of the French king, who, upon hearing that William was confined, ſaid "he hoped his brother of England would ſoon be delivered of his great belly."

This was reported to William, who determined upon war, as a proper vengeance for ſuch an affront. William found his ſtupid ſubjects ready to be led to murder on this moſt frivolous occaſion, and he entered the dominions of France with fire and ſword, ſpreading deſolation at every ſtep.

Thouſands would have bled and tens of thouſands have been reduced to beggary in this war, if it had not been happily terminated by the death of the tyrannical Conqueror.

From ſuch cauſes originate wars in civilized countries, and if the *wit of kings* be not found in the progreſs of our work to have often been the cauſe of wars, we ſhall find that cauſes of as little importance have given riſe to war in general; for if princes have not always *wit*, they are ſeldom deſtitute of qualities which occaſion ſtrife amongſt mankind.

William dying, recollected his enormous crimes, and called in ſuperſtition to eaſe his conſcience. He had always been very religious, for ſo a reſpect for the clergy and ceremonies has been always called; but that never blunted the edge of his cruelty, never

weakened the force of his ambition or avarice. He now ordered great ſums of money to be given to the churches and to the prieſts, and neglected nothing of the mummery of ſuperſtition. He even delivered lectures to thoſe who attended upon him on the *vanity of worldly greatneſs!* Thus deſcended to the grave, preaching like another Solomon, the murderer of three hundred thouſand perſons. He made a will, and left the poor people of England to his ſon William, the people of Normandy to Robert, and a large ſum of money to Henry.

Robert, the eldeſt, formed a conſpiracy againſt William, but William defeated his plans and got hold of his adherents. In revenge for this attempt againſt his throne, now William engaged in an expedition againſt Normandy. What had the ſubjects of each prince to do in this quarrel, that they ſhould bleed?

Several other unimportant wars William commenced, but they were carried on to no extent; ſeveral conſpiracies he diſcovered and defeated, and after mortgaging his brother's dominions in Normandy, and oppreſſing the people of England more than twelve years, he was ſhot by an archer in New Foreſt, by an arrow directed at a buck.

Henry, his younger brother, ſeized the throne, in contempt of the hereditary claim of his elder brother Robert, and of an agreement made between Robert and William, that the ſurvivor of them ſhould inherit the ſubjects of the deceaſed. Robert attempted

attempted to recover what he thought to be his right, by invading England; but Henry had begun his reign by ſome popular acts, and his people enabled him to reſiſt this attempt of his brother.

It was not long before he retaliated upon his brother, and invaded Normandy; and after various efforts, he took Robert priſoner, and ſeized all his dominions *.

He kept his brother in priſon until his death, A. D. 1134, a period of near twenty-eight years! Still he was unhappy, for William, the ſon of his brother, had eſcaped him, and in all his countleſs efforts to ſeize and murder him, he was diſappointed, and he trembled on his throne leſt this young prince ſhould ſucceed him, inſtead of his own ſon. In the wars that Henry I. conducted, which were many, there was no object which could benefit his ſubjects. Whilſt he was adding a province to his foreign dominions, he was taxing his ſubjects in order to proſecute the war.

A few nobles, indeed, ſhared in his ſucceſs, for they generally were rewarded with the confiſcated property of thoſe, whom they had aſſiſted to conquer; but *the people*, the inſtruments of all conqueſt and all power, were neglected and contemned. Government appears at this time to be a combination of aſpiring men, to ſubdue and to devour the multitude, whoſe ignorance firſt made them ſoldiers, and then ſlaves.

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. 8vo. edit. vol. v. page 64, &c.

Henry the firſt, after having loſt his ſon (who was drowned in his paſſage from Normandy), ſuppreſſed many inſurrections, detected many conſpiracies, been ſucceſsful in many wars againſt his brother, and for the enlargment of his dominions; after having made his barons ſwear fealty to his daughter, and oppreſſed his ſubjects during thirty-five years, died at Lyons, A. D. 1135; and, notwithſtanding all his anxious care on that point, was ſucceeded by Stephen, earl of Boulogne, a daring uſurper, without any claim to the crown, and contrary to his own oath of fealty, which he had been forward to take to the daughter of Henry.

When the oath was to be taken to ſupport the ſucceſſion of Henry's daughter, Stephen had a conteſt with the king's natural ſon the earl of Glouceſter, for the honour of being the firſt of the laity who ſhould pledge himſelf to aſſiſt in that meaſure. To ſecure the poſſeſſion he had ſeized, Stephen made uſe of the beſt means poſſible. He bribed the clergy to his intereſt, and thus commanded the public opinion in his favour. They who are believed to wield the power and know the pleaſure of an inviſible Almighty being, who is every where preſent, omnipotent to execute all his decrees, from whoſe vengeance the grave cannot ſhield us, whoſe puniſhments are unutterable and eternal, cannot but move the earth at their pleaſure.

Such were the friends, the ſupporters of Stephen, the

the ungrateful, perjured, and infamous uſurper of the Engliſh throne!

To the nobility alſo—the men of war, this aſpiring villain was very liberal, and he attempted to flatter the common people, whoſe ignorance made them the dupes of to-day and the ſlaves of to-morrow.

David, king of Scotland, made war on Stephen in favour of the deſcendants of Henry, but the uſurper ſatisfied the *juſtice* of David by ceding Cumberland to him, and the earldom of Huntington to his eldeſt ſon.

The year 1140 was remarkable for the wretchedneſs of the poor people of England.

Stephen, intoxicated with proſperity, began to ſlight the clergy and to make free with their poſſeſſions; but he dearly paid for his temerity in thus touching the Lord's anointed, the pillars of his throne. They raiſed the cry, that the church was in danger, united with the barons againſt the uſurper; and civil war ſpread its ravages throughout the whole kingdom.

The biſhops, great barons, and the petty lords of caſtles (for the wretched people had nothing to do but to obey their maſters and be murdered), ranged themſelves for and againſt the royal Stephen, and the country preſented to the aſtoniſhed beholder nothing but the petrifying ſpectacle of ſmoaking towns and villages in aſhes, the ruins of churches and monaſteries, and fields uncultivated and forſaken.

Famine

Famine followed in the train of war, and killed them who had eſcaped its rage. England was a vaſt grave, and its remaining population were a crowd of mourners *. Of ſo much importance was the ſupport, and ſo dreadful was the oppoſition of the clergy, in theſe times of ſuperſtition and ignorance.

Stephen poſſeſſed great courage; and at the celebrated battle of the ſecond of February, 1141, diſplayed prodigies of valour, although the fortune of the day was againſt him, and he was taken priſoner, and the empreſs Maude, daughter of Henry I. acknowledged queen.

But the empreſs was no more qualified to bear proſperity than Stephen, and ſhe alſo had the temerity to defy Heaven, by quarrelling with the clergy. The cry that the church was in danger again reſounded through the country, and the thunders of the church were too powerful for the throne. The pope's legate, who had juſt declared Maude lawful queen, now, for the good of the church, deſerted her and joined the party of Stephen; excommunicating all who joined or aſſiſted the empreſs.

The civil war continued to rage for ſome time; and both the empreſs and her ſon ſailed for Normandy: he had gone before, and ſhe ſailed A. D. 1148.

* Chron. Sax. p. 238, &c.

King

King Stephen now had nobody to fight but the barons and ſome of the clergy; but the effects of theſe continued wars are thus repreſented by a contemporary hiſtorian.

"All England wore a face of miſery and deſola-
"tion. Multitudes abandoned their beloved coun-
"try, and went into voluntary exile; others, forſaking
"their own houſes, built wretched huts in the
"church-yards, hoping for protection from the
"ſacredneſs of the place. Whole families, after
"ſuſtaining life as long as they could, by eating
"herbs, roots, and the fleſh of dogs and horſes, at laſt
"died of hunger; and you might ſee many plea-
"ſant villages without a ſingle inhabitant of either
"ſex *."

Prince Henry, the empreſs Maude's ſon, having ſucceeded to Normandy, made a deſcent upon England A. D. 1153; and the country being utterly exhauſted, and neither party able to act with vigour, this war ended in a treaty in which Henry was declared the ſucceſſor of Stephen when he ſhould die.

Such were the wars on account of the right of ſucceſſion carried on in the reign of Stephen, wars in which the empreſs and Stephen, with the prieſts and nobles, were indeed intereſted, but in which the people had no intereſt at all. The people can only be intereſted in a frugal and mild adminiſtration, and that two pretenders to authority, ſuch as Ste-

* Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 961. Apud Henry's Hiſt. Brit.

phen and Maude, both tyrants, ſhould have been able to ſet the kingdom on fire, to aſſert their oppoſite claims of dominion over their vaſſals, is another deplorable proof, that yet the people of England, ignorant and deceived, continued to be led "like lambs to the ſlaughter."

Stephen died A. D. 1154, having reigned near nineteen years, and having occaſioned the death of more human beings than the hours which his tyranny continued.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY Plantagenet, ſon of Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, by Maude, daughter of Henry the firſt, aſcended the throne under very favourable auſpices. The country, torn to pieces and deſtroyed by the cruel wars which a diſputed ſucceſſion had occaſioned, was eager to rally round any king whoſe claims to the crown gave promiſe of undiſputed poſſeſſion.

The firſt acts of this prince, not yet twenty-one years of age, were full of wiſdom and very popular.

Happy might Henry the ſecond and the people of England have been if he had held no foreign dominions; but he did not only hold extenſive dominions on the continent, but was eager to enlarge them. For this purpoſe he made war, A. D. 1159, to recover the earldom of Thouloufe, which he claimed in right of his wife, and in order to carry on the war, he raiſed a heavy ſum of money from his ſubjects in England, who could not be benefited by the ſucceſs of his project *.

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. v. p. 126.

Fortunately

Fortunately for the people of England, this war was ſoon over, and Henry, much, no doubt, to their edification, attended to eccleſiaſtical affairs. A diſpute exiſted between two popes, Alexander III. and Victor IV. He declared for Alexander; and Henry and the king of France, had an interview with their pope at Torcy, on the Loire, at which theſe two kings held the pope's ſtirrup as he mounted his horſe, and guided the reins of his bridle as they conducted him into the town *. The reſpect men have entertained for the clergy, though pernicious, is not wonderful. Believe that they are the depoſitaries of the will of God, and what reverence is too much for them? The reſpect due to God will be transferred to them, and nothing can prevent this but the belief that God favours the juſt, but is attached to no orders, and has no repreſentatives on earth.

In the year 1171 Henry made almoſt all Ireland tributary to him; and although he had no right whatever to any part of that kingdom, yet the conqueſt was ſo eaſy, that the people of England were not greatly oppreſſed at this time in fitting out the expedition.

Henry was afterwards threatened by a conſpiracy of all his own children, with his wife alſo, againſt him; but with great good fortune and at little expence of blood or treaſure he reduced them to obedience.

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. 8vo. edit. vol. v. p. 130.

He

He lived after the death of two of his ſons, and died at the moment that his two ſurviving ſons were again carrying on actual war againſt him, A. D. 1189.

Henry II. was the beſt king who had filled the throne of England ſince the death of Alfred the Great: his wars, though numerous, were ſhort and unexpenſive; and the regulations he adopted in the kingdom were wiſe, and productive of much benefit to the country. In lamenting the death of Henry, the people of England recollected that they had loſt a friend, and feared the acceſſion of a tyrant.

Richard, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Henry, aſcended the throne of his father, his rebellion againſt whom had haſtened his death. He immediately prepared to ſet off for the Holy Land, to recover the ſepulchre of Jeſus, in company with the king of France.

In order to undertake this expedition he raiſed money from his ſubjects, in every poſſible way; and to this purpoſe he devoted all the treaſure his father had accumulated. His attendants in the croiſade fell upon the Jews in this country before they ſet off, and maſſacred and plundered great numbers of this injured and helpleſs people.

They thought this a work of great merit at the beginning of an undertaking of ſtill greater merit.

One of the moſt early conſequences of Richard's proſecution of the holy war, was the tyranny which Longchamp,

Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, exerciſed in his abſence, to whom chiefly the king had delegated his authority.

The tyranny of this wretch would ſtill have been endured, if he had not preſumed to touch his own order; but making free with biſhops and archbiſhops, he was preſently ruined, and diſrobed of all his power. He fled out of the kingdom.

When Richard was returning from the Holy Land, being taken and detained a priſoner in Germany, his brother John formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and attempted to ſeize his crown. Richard, however, obtaining his liberty, arrived in England, and diſperſed the adherents of John.

In the year 1199 Richard died of a wound which at firſt was not eſteemed at all dangerous.

His wars, eſpecially his mad expedition to the Holy Land, had drained the people of their treaſures, and cauſed the death of immenſe numbers. Although he was brave, which procured him the title of Cœur de Lion, or the lion hearted, he was a ſcourge of the human race, and juſtly merits the name of tyrant.

Superſtition was the cauſe of all the croiſades, in which millions loſt their lives; and ſuperſtition, under one form or another, if it have not been the object of moſt wars, has enabled all princes, in all ages, to lead out their unhappy ſubjects to danger and to death. When a cauſe cannot be defended or maintained by appeals to individual intereſt or general

general humanity, how convenient is it, for it ſuits all caſes, to animate zeal, by preaching the will of God?

John, the younger brother of Richard, ſucceeded him on the throne, to the excluſion of Arthur, the only ſon of Geoffrey, his elder brother. This violation of hereditary right gave little diſturbance, indeed it ought to have been held cheap by a people to whom all kings were nearly alike. The aſs in the fable, urged to quicken his ſtep leſt the enemy ſhould approach, very naturally aſks if the enemy will lay upon him four panniers. Being anſwered, No, only two—Why, ſays he, I carry two already; and of what importance to me is it by whoſe hand they are put upon me? Happy if the people of all nations had always reaſoned with equal juſtneſs and force!

Arthur did not reſign his pretenſions without a ſtruggle; but proving unſucceſsful, and falling into the hands of John as his priſoner, he had him confined in the caſtle of Falaiſo, where he offered rewards to ſeveral who refuſed to become his aſſaſſins; afterwards the young and innocent prince was conducted to the caſtle of Rouen, where John then was, and was there murdered by his uncle*. The other priſoners whom this royal butcher took along with Arthur, were ſo ill treated as that many

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. v. p. 237.

of them periſhed in priſon, and twenty-three of the moſt illuſtrious of them were actually ſtarved to death in Corf Caſtle. This conduct rouſed the indignation of the barons, who accuſed him of the murder of their prince before the king of France, upon which John's foreign dominions were declared to be forfeited, war was made upon them, and Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, were reduced by the king of France, the baſe murderer and poltroon not daring to appear and defend them.

John afterwards figured away on the continent with an army, for which he made the poor people of England pay moſt unmercifully, in order to recover the dominions he had loſt by violence and murder; but he ſoon returned, left his dominions in poſſeſſion of his enemies, and ſqueezed the people of England by new impoſitions.

John the uſurper, the aſſaſſin of innocence and youth, was yet not unworthy of the friendſhip of the pope; but now quarrelling with the holy father about the choice of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, the pope, for contempt of eccleſiaſtical authority, *excommunicated* John, pronounced a formal ſentence of depoſition againſt him, abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths, and invited the king of France and all chriſtian princes and people to join to put this ſentence in execution. The thunder of this Roman Deity was heard, and inſtantly a formidable

midable combination threatened John with invaſion and war.

The king of France, after twelve months preparation, was at the head of a mighty army ready to invade England, where John was not unprepared for his reception, being himſelf at the head of a prodigious army. At this moment the Pope's legate arrived at Dover, who having a conference with John, brought him to accept the pope's terms of reconciliation, and even to agree to hold his kingdoms of England and Ireland of the pope, by paying him a tribute for them of a thouſand marks a year; this agreement was concluded on the 15th of May 1213.

The pope having thus eſtabliſhed his own power, and weakened and diſgraced his enemy, commanded the king of France to deſiſt from his expedition. How powerful and how dangerous is the man who is believed to repreſent the Almighty and to dictate his will!

John by his weakneſs and oppreſſion tired the patience of his ſubjects, and the powerful barons of his kingdom determined to ſeek in arms a redreſs of their grievances. The king, always weak, always cowardly, equally unable to reſiſt a foreign foe or to quell a domeſtic faction, now applied to the pope, to direct his thunders againſt the barons, whilſt, to procure time, he promiſed to grant what they demanded. The pope's letters arrived, threatening excommunication to the barons; and,

thus armed, John, with a high tone, refuſed their demands. The barons, perhaps, ſuſpecting the pope to be a mere human being; perhaps thinking that he who helps himſelf is beſt helped by Heaven, defied the papal power, and with uplifted arms demanded from John the Charter of their Rights. John, intimidated by their reſolution, ſigned their Charter June 19, 1215. This is called Magna Charta, or the *Great Charter*; it might not improperly have been entitled, The Charter of the Great, for the barons forgot that the humble had rights, and thought only of themſelves.

John had no ſooner granted this charter, than he began to form ſchemes for annulling it. He ſent to the pope for his thunders, and to Europe for mercenary ſoldiers, in order to accompliſh his purpoſe. The pope was much intereſted for the king of England, whom he honoured by calling him his vaſſal, and iſſued a bull annulling the Great Charter, and another denouncing excommunication againſt the barons and their followers. Thus encouraged, John made war upon the barons by his herd of foreign mercenaries, and reduced their caſtle of Rocheſter, after a brave defence, November 30, in the ſame year. In the beginning of the next year John ſtill proved ſucceſsful; but he loſt his moderation with his fears, and ſpread havock and ruin over all the country.

country. He burned the towns of Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Haddington, to aſhes!

Whilſt he was thus making the beſt uſe of earthly fire, the fire of Heaven came to his aſſiſtance, and the barons received ſentence of excommunication by name, which alſo laid their lands under an interdict. Thus reduced to deſpair, the barons blaſphemed the king and the pope, and ſent and offered the crown of England to Louis, eldeſt ſon of the king of France *. Louis, whoſe father was juſt before arming to carry a papal ſentence into execution againſt John, now accepted the offer with eagerneſs, and ſoon arrived in London with an army, to defend the *excommunicated barons*.

In the midſt of this war John died, but not before the barons began to dread that, in ſeeking to a foreigner for aid, they had found a tyrant and a maſter. A ſalutary leſſon for poſterity †.

The devaſtation which was ſpread over the country by this war was occaſioned purely by the tyranny of the king. It was a war of hired cutthroats, with the king at their head, againſt ſubjects claiming a little of their rights. The annals

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. v. p. 257, &c.

† If at this moment the ſtate want reformation, as it certainly does, let the wiſdom of our anceſtors teach us, in correcting an error, which threatened their ruin, not to look to France for relief from our domeſtic grievances.

of hiſtory do not diſplay a more deteſtable character than that of king John. An undutiful ſon, an unnatural brother, a ruffian murderer, in the perſon of an uncle, an unfaithful and cruel huſband, a brutal debauchee, a coward, and a deceitful and pitileſs tyrant over his ſubjects. Yet this man was the friend of the church, and the thunders of the pope were at his ſervice. In recounting the vices of men there is generally ſome light mixing with the ſhades of character; but John's character forms one deep ſhade in the portraiture of human nature, without one bright ray. Some have doubted whether any character was ever ſimply vicious, and deſtitute of every virtue; have ſuch ſtudied the characters of Nero and John?

The death of this royal monſter ſecured the ſucceſſion to his family, for the barons, fearing to find in Louis a foreign maſter, came over and acknowledged Henry, the eldeſt ſon of John, yet an infant, king; and the government was put during his non-age into the hands of the wiſe earl of Pembroke, who immediately renewed the great charter. The civil wars in which John had involved the country, left a very lawleſs and licentious ſpirit amongſt the barons, who became mere robbers and plunderers, and a mutinous ſpirit amongſt the Londoners. Theſe muſt ever be the conſequence of unſettled governments and civil war.

Henry

Henry aſſumed the government A. D. 1227, being not yet twenty-one years of age. Henry attempted to recover his foreign dominions, and for this purpoſe, having raiſed an army and obtained money from his ſubjects by very unlawful means*, embarked for France A. D. 1230.

Inſtead, however, of accompliſhing his purpoſe, which ſeemed to be attended with little difficulty, he diſſipated the money of his ſubjects in riot and exceſs, and returned, in a few months, to England, diſhonoured and deſpiſed. It is not material to narrate the tranſactions of the reign of this weak and perfidious monarch; it conſiſted in nothing but diſcontents amongſt the barons, on account of Henry's foreign favourites, and his illegal exactions of money from his ſubjects, ſometimes on one pretence, and ſometimes on another, but eſpecially under the aſſurance that he would go to the Holy Land; until we come to A. D. 1255, when the pope offered the kingdom of Sicily to Henry's ſecond ſon.

The pope pretended to be the ſuperior lord of Sicily, as John had made him of England; but he alledged, that he had a right to diſpoſe of that kingdom as the vicar of Chriſt, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth belonged. We have heard indeed, that the kingdoms of the earth were

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 9.

once offered to Jeſus Chriſt; but it was on condition, that he ſhould fall down and worſhip the devil; perhaps this condition, rejected by Jeſus, had been performed by the pope. Henry gave the pope leave to employ what ſums of money he pleaſed in obtaining for his ſon the kingdom of Sicily, by which means he ſoon found himſelf 250,000 *l.* in debt, an immenſe ſum for theſe times*! The king was now in the greateſt perplexity, not knowing how to raiſe this ſum, or to pay this debt.

With the pope to ſupport him, however, he ventured upon a meaſure which, without that ſupport, would have ruined him, and torn his kingdom to pieces. He attacked the clergy, and extorted from them money by every means, fair and foul, until he had almoſt impoveriſhed an order, at theſe times, remarkable for its affluence. Still, more money was ſpent than could be collected; and Henry, haraſſing his ſubjects, in order to obtain money, cauſed ſuch a diſſatisfaction in the kingdom, that it enabled the great barons to combine againſt the king, and even to aſſert the power they had aſſumed by force of arms.

The country was diſtracted by theſe diviſions, which ended in the famous battle of Lewes, in which the army of the barons, with the earl of Leiceſter at their head, totally defeated the royal

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 23.

army,

army, and the king and his brother were taken priſoners. The whole power of the kingdom was now in the hands of Leiceſter; but he, dreading the ſuſpicions of his brothers and the barons, which begun to be entertained againſt him, called a parliament, which met January 28, A. D. 1265.

It is remarkable, that in this parliament we firſt hear of ſomething like repreſentation, for not only the barons were to aſſemble, as they had excluſively done upon all former occaſions, but every ſhire was ordered to ſend two knights, every city two citizens, and every burgh two burgeſſes, as their repreſentatives. The earl of Leiceſter, the laſt to meditate any advantage for the people, called this parliament, that he might be able to over-rule his rivals, the great barons.

Leiceſter did not long retain his power, for a deciſive battle was fought A. D. 1265, in which that powerful earl was ſlain, and many of his chief adherents. No ſooner was the army of Leiceſter cut off, than the earl of Glouceſter, diſguſted with the ſeverity which the king exerciſed over the adherents of Leiceſter, put himſelf at the head of an army, and made war upon the king.

A pacification, however, was made, and Glouceſter laid down his arms; after which event the peace of the kingdom was reſtored. Thus were incredible ſufferings brought upon the kingdom,

and Henry reduced to the laſt extremity, a priſoner in the hands of his enemies, and nearly deprived of his throne and life, by attempts to obtain the crown of Sicily, which the vicar of Chriſt had the power to grant, but not the power to ſeize, without employing mere human force. Such were the cauſes and conſequences of this dreadful and deſtructive war. Prince Edward, Henry's ſon, delivered from domeſtic dangers, immediately went to ſeek foreign ones in a croiſade to the Holy Land, as if fearful leſt the people ſhould have a moment's eaſe and comfort, and be preſerved from freſh impoſitions. On November 16, 1272, Henry the third died, having afflicted this kingdom by a tyrannical reign of more than fifty years.

Henry the third was a coward, a liar, and ſome think, a fool. His reign was unhappy, and his people at his death were delivered from one who had been long their ſcourge. He had the credit of piety, which chiefly conſiſted in the adoration of relicks and the worſhip of ſaints. Edward I. commonly called Long Shanks, ſucceeded his father Henry on the throne.

After Edward returned from the Holy Land, finding that Lewellyn prince of Wales was backward in paying homage for his dominions, the king made war upon Wales, which, after various events, ended in the full conqueſt of that country. Edward

ward now created his eldeſt ſon *Prince of Wales*, which continues yet to be the title of the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England. King Edward committed many cruelties in the conqueſt of Wales, to which he had no pretenſions but the right of the ſtrongeſt, and it was ſome time before that brave people contentedly reſigned their liberty to this tyrant.

Edward, ever reſtleſs and panting for the field of battle, now formed the deſign of conquering another independent country, and adding Scotland to his dominions. The infant queen of Scotland, between whom and his ſon, Edward had negotiated a marriage, dying A. D. 1290, ſome diſputes aroſe concerning the title of various competitors to the crown of that kingdom.

John Baliol, one of the competitors, was the great grandſon of prince David, whoſe poſterity were the undoubted heirs to the crown of Scotland, and deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of that prince. Robert Bruce, the other competitor, was the grandſon of David, by his ſecond daughter.

The queſtion then was, whether a deſcendant from the eldeſt daughter, more remote by one degree, or a deſcendant from the ſecond daughter, but nearer by one degree, had a right to ſucceed to the throne. The determination of this diſpute was referred to Edward. The king cheerfully accepted of the office of umpire; but when all

were

were aſſembled to produce evidence, and to wait his deciſion, May 10, A. D. 1291, he, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, laid claim in the firſt place, to the ſuperiority of Scotland, and required that that ſhould firſt be recognized before he proceeded in the buſineſs.

The alledged grounds of this claim were ſo trifling and ridiculous, that to mention them is unneceſſary. They were advanced, however, at a moment when their admiſſion was ſure, as he who denied them to be valid was certain to be rejected, and he who admitted their validity, declared entitled to the throne. The two competitors, therefore, both conſented to acknowledge the ſuperiority of Edward, that they might not offend him who was to determine upon their claims.

Having obtained his point, Edward proceeded to hear the reſpective claims of the competitors, and the title of John Baliol was declared to be complete. Edward began immediately to exerciſe the authority which he had gotten to be acknowledged, and Baliol, on the day which he was declared king, was obliged to perform his homage, and ſwear fealty to the king of England and his heirs for the whole kingdom of Scotland.

Edward, whoſe views extended farther than merely to have his ſuperiority acknowledged in Scotland, haraſſed the king of that country with continual citations, inſomuch that in one year he was ſix times cited

cited to appear before the king of England and his parliament, to anſwer the complaints of private individuals on ſlight and unimportant matters *.

To be thus continually reminded of his vaſſallage could not but be mortifying to a king who knew that Edward had no claim to that ſuperiority which he exerciſed ſo unſparingly. This, however, was pleaſing to Edward, who wiſhed by theſe means to quarrel with John, in order to have a plauſible reaſon for invading his kingdom. At this moment a quarrel took place between the kings of France and England, and Edward was cited to appear before the king of France as duke of Guienne, which he held under the French king. Edward, who had humbled Baliol ſo frequently in the ſame manner, diſobeyed the citation, and every thing threatened war between the two countries.

Baliol, anxious for an opportunity to throw off the unjuſt and intolerable yoke of Edward, entered into a treaty with the king of France, A. D. 1295. In this treaty they agree to aſſiſt each other againſt Edward, the enemy of both. As Edward refuſed to appear perſonally before the king of France, Guienne was confiſcated, in violation indeed of the faith of the king of France, who, when it was reſigned to him through form, had engaged to reſtore it.

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 89.

Edward

Edward immediately prepared, not to invade France, from whoſe king he had received the greateſt offence, but to gratify the firſt wiſh of his heart, by invading Scotland. He, that his reaſon might appear ſolid for taking this ſtep, now demanded king John to deliver to him the caſtles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, as a ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour during the war he was about to wage with France.

John refuſed to do this, which indeed would have been a violation of his treaty with the king of France, and Edward marched to invade the country of his vaſſal in the ſpring of the year 1296.

A ſuperior who is deſirous of quarrelling with an inferior never wants a pretext; it is poſſible to provoke humility itſelf to reſiſtance, and to plead that reſiſtance as a reaſon for deſtructive meaſures. Edward, however, with every proſpect of ſucceſs, was now kindling a fire which he was never able to extinguiſh.

During this year Edward defeated the Scots, and obliged Baliol to ſurrender himſelf into his hands, whom he treated with the greateſt ſeverity, ſending him a priſoner to the Tower, after he had compelled him to ſurrender to him, under his hand and ſeal, his kingdom and royal dignity. The like fate overtook all the nobility of Scotland, who fell into Edward's hands; he ſent them priſoners to England.

Edward now meditated the invaſion of France.

In

In order to accompliſh this purpoſe he loaded his poor Engliſh ſubjects, both clergy and laity, with heavy impoſitions, whom he had juſt haraſſed in order to conquer Scotland. Well furniſhed with men and all neceſſaries, he ſailed for the continent in Auguſt A. D. 1297; but he returned to England March A. D. 1298, having accompliſhed no valuable purpoſe, exhauſted his reſources, and conſented to leave the ſubject of his quarrel with the king of France to the arbitration of the pope.

Edward no ſooner arrived in England but he learned that a revolution had happened in Scotland, brought about by the celebrated Sir William Wallace, who was at the head of an army which had been very daring and ſucceſsful. The name of William Wallace muſt be for ever dear to every patriot; with every accompliſhment of body and mind, he devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his injured country; but his ſucceſs was not equal to his merit.

After Wallace had triumphed over the Engliſh, and even led his victorious troops into England, he was overpowered by an immenſe army, which Edward raiſed A. D. 1298.

It is probable that Wallace, worthy of being the ſaviour of his country, might have eſtabliſhed the independence of Scotland, and reſiſted all the power of Edward, if the curſed ariſtocracy of that divided country, the ancient barons, had not envied his reputation, and grown jealous of his power.

Edward now again thought the conqueſt of Scotland complete, and, his proviſions being greatly exhauſted, returned into England. He then made peace with the king of France, and, being a widower, married Margaret his ſiſter.

This peace was ratified Auguſt 3, A. D. 1299. At this moment Edward was informed that the Scots, not yet quite ſubdued, had inveſted the caſtle of Stirling. The king immediately ſet off to join his army in the north; but his barons, haraſſed by his continued wars, now refuſed to march with him into Scotland, which occaſioned Edward to abandon his deſign, and gave time for the Scots to recover their ſtrength.

About Midſummer A. D. 1300, he again entered Scotland at the head of a great army, and met with great ſucceſs; but whilſt he was thus proceeding to reduce the kingdom he had ſo often reduced, he met a moſt ſurpriſing and unexpected interruption. The archbiſhop of Canterbury arrived in his camp with a bull from the pope refuting Edward's pretenſions to Scotland, and ſtating thoſe of his holineſs. The king was commanded to ſend commiſſioners to Rome to plead his cauſe within ſix months. Edward returned with his army to England, and prepared to anſwer the pope.

After various expeditions againſt Scotland, without any concluſion of the war, he marched into that kingdom, A. D. 1303, with a prodigious army, determined

termined to extinguiſh for ever whatever oppoſed him in that country. Almoſt all the nobility made their peace with Edward by ſubmiſſion, and he ſeemed to have gained his object completely.

William Wallace had yet eſcaped the vigilance of the Engliſh king, but he was now taken near Glaſgow. Edward, who, if he had poſſeſſed the generous ſpirit of a hero, would have admired and honoured his illuſtrious captive, conducted him to London, and, after trying him as a traitor (the common name for the lovers of liberty and of their country), baſely executed him, A. D. 1305. Whatever the flatterers of the king might tell him on this occaſion, poſterity with one voice pronounces this to be a foul and cruel murder, of a man of whom any country might have been proud. The murder of Wallace did not extinguiſh the ſpirit of freedom in Scotland.

Robert Bruce, ſon of the competitor of that name, now aſſerted his claim to the crown of Scotland, was actually crowned A. D. 1306, and Edward was again obliged to raiſe an army to reduce that country. Edward, breathing deſtruction to Bruce and the independence of Scotland, held a parliament at Carliſle, A. D. 1307; and hearing of the progreſs of his enemy, he ſummoned his forces to join him there three weeks after midſummer; but on the 7th of July he died, charging his ſon to carry his body into Scotland with the army, and

not to bury it until he had wholly ſubdued that country.

Edward the Firſt reigned thirty-four years. He was a man of great talents, and he poſſeſſed many domeſtic virtues; but his long reign was one continued war, originating entirely from his deſire of foreign conqueſt, from which his ſubjects could reap no advantage, and to which they were obliged to contribute immenſe ſums of money. His love of conqueſt made him cruel, and his treatment of Wallace was infamous. His attempt upon Scotland was unjuſt, and, after the murder of thouſands, was even to him and his heirs fruitleſs. With talents which might have made the people happy, this man of war lived their ſcourge and their oppreſſor. Alexander poſſeſſed high endowments; but to gratify his ambition, and make *himſelf great*, he became the murderer of millions.

Edward the Firſt was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Edward II.; who, after waiting ſome time at Carliſle to receive reinforcements, marched at the head of his army into Scotland. He proceeded, however, no farther than Cumnock, in Ayrſhire, and there, having made Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, guardian of Scotland, he diſbanded a great part of his army, and returned into England to enjoy himſelf in the ſoftneſs of luxurious indulgence.

He, immediately upon the death of his father, called Piers Gavaſton, a foreigner and a great favourite

vourite of Edward, from baniſhment, whither he had been ſent by Edward the Firſt, left his influence over his ſon ſhould corrupt and ruin him, and whom, dying, he had enjoined his ſon never to recal.

How vain are the deſigns of men!—Edward the Firſt had not been dead three months before all his wiſhes periſhed concerning the conduct of his ſon, who acted in direct oppoſition to the commands of his father. The king, delighted with the company of Gavaſton, loaded him with honours and fortune, which excited a ſpirit of jealouſy and enmity in the barons; who ſaw, with indignation, Edward laviſhing his bounty upon a foreigner, and ſpending his time in ſloth, whilſt Bruce, king of Scotland, was daily ſtrengthening his intereſt in that country.

Edward, indeed, made two feeble attempts to penetrate into Scotland, but his armies returned without accompliſhing any thing of importance. Other engagements now occupied his attention. The barons, indignant at the king's treatment of Gavaſton, raiſed an inſurrection, and beſieged the favourite in the caſtle of Scarborough, which, notwithſtanding they received the mandate of the king to deſiſt from their purpoſe, they reduced on May 19th, 1312. They agreed, however, before Gavaſton capitulated, to keep him in ſafety until the firſt of Auguſt, that a general accommodation might

be effected in the mean time; but if that could not be brought about, he was to be reſtored to the caſtle in the condition in which he left it.

Gavaſton was conducted to Deddington caſtle, and there being ſeized by Guy Earl of Warwick, was murdered, without the ceremony of a trial, on the firſt of July following. The king was extremely enraged at this proceeding, and haſtened to London to collect money and troops, in order to pour out all his vengeance upon the barons who had been guilty of ſo foul a murder. His conduct, however, had not tended to animate his ſubjects with ardent loyalty, and finding men and money not eaſy to procure, he was obliged to enter into terms with the barons, and pardon them, after ſome trifling acknowledgment of their error.

Edward now determined to invade Scotland in good earneſt, and at one blow to annihilate the king and independence of that country. Seven years had elapſed ſince the death of the firſt Edward, and Bruce had improved this long interval in extending his influence through the whole country.

On June 18, 1314, Edward moved from Berwick at the head of an immenſe army, and on the river Bannock, on the 24th of the ſame month, came in ſight of the Scotch army.

The king of England had a much ſuperior force, and having no doubt of ſucceſs, ſpent the night in mirth

mirth and jollity. The next day the battle commenced, which ended in the total defeat of the Engliſh army, and the complete triumph of the Scotch.

In this memorable battle of Bannock-burn were ſlain or taken priſoners 10,000 ſoldiers, and, what at that day was thought more worthy of remark, 700 gentlemen, and 154 knights, barons, or earls*!!

After this defeat Edward returned to England, which was at this moment a ſcene of deſolation; "diſpirited by defeat, diſtracted by faction, depo-"pulated by famine, and deſolated by an army of "Scots;"—all the precious fruit of an unjuſt war, and of faction, fomented by the tyranny of the barons and the weakneſs of the king. The king, after this, often thought of invading Scotland, and even marched as far as Berwick for that purpoſe; but all his fruitleſs efforts ended in an agreement between the two kings upon a truce for two years.

The king, relieved from the burthen of war, ſought for pleaſures more congenial with his nature, and now adopted a new favourite, Hugh Spencer, a man of large fortune, and ancient family. This favourite, naturally overbearing and covetous, ſoon became as odious to the barons as was

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 143.

the foreigner Gavaſton. They combined againſt his family, and obliged the king to conſent to their baniſhment. The queen, now going to perform ſome acts of devotion at Canterbury, determined to lodge at the caſtle of Lord Badleſmere; but Lady Badleſmere refuſed to receive the queen into her houſe. The queen haſtened to London, and prevailed on the king to revenge her quarrel with Lady Badleſmere. Edward raiſed ſome troops and beſieged the caſtle, which was ſurrendered to him, October 31, 1321.

This was the ſignal for hoſtilities, and the barons flew to arms, and civil war raged through the country. Such have been the cauſes of the ruin of nations!!

The Earl of Lancaſter put himſelf at the head of an army, and entered into a connexion with the king of Scots; but he was defeated by the king's troops, March 16, 1322, and himſelf carried a priſoner to York. On the 22d of the ſame month Lancaſter was beheaded.

After this Edward marched againſt Scotland, but returned without performing any thing of conſequence, and was even followed into England with the Scotch army at his rear. He afterwards concluded a truce with the king of Scotland.

Edward was now ſummoned to do homage to Charles the Fair, king of France, for his French dominions; and not immediately complying with the citation,

citation, a war was about to commence, when he ſent Iſabella his queen to negociate a treaty of peace.

By this treaty, however, Edward was obliged to appear in France, and to do homage to the king at Beauvais, on the 29th of Auguſt. Spencer, the favourite, oppoſed the voyage of the king to France, and to avoid it Edward ſent his ſon over to do homage, having previouſly reſigned his French dominions to him. Edward having diſmiſſed the Prince of Wales to France, expected his mother to return with him into England. But the queen meditated other meaſures. With Roger Mortimer, who had eſcaped from the Tower of London, ſhe had formed a criminal connexion, and ſhe had already conceived the deſign of depriving Edward of his crown.

The queen now raiſed an army, and prepared to invade England, having already opened a correſpondence with the malecontents in this country.

When the queen landed, the king attempted to rouſe the people of London to his defence; but the flame of loyalty was extinguiſhed, and the king, with a few followers, went into the weſt, and thence flew into Wales.

This fatal war ended in the depoſition and murder of Edward, who was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name, who aſcended the throne a uſurper and a parricide, (if his tender age do not exculpate him from deep deſigns) the dupe or the accomplice of one

of the moſt worthleſs and deteſtable women whoſe names have blackened the annals of mankind.

Edward was a weak king; but his misfortunes were ſufficient to protect him from critical ſeverity, and his crimes ſeem leſſened by the enormity of the crimes of thoſe with whom he was connected.

What was now the ſtate of England? The anſwer is furniſhed by a correct and excellent hiſtorian. "England was at this time a ſcene of great confu-"ſion; government was diſſolved, the courts of "juſtice ſhut, and lawleſs violence every where "reigned. The mob of London, and of other cities, "who were called the riflers, plundered and murder-"ed whom they pleaſed without controul *."

It cannot be denied that the ſtate of the country was dreadful during this unhappy reign; nor can the cauſe be hidden. An unjuſt war with Scotland continued; and a civil war, occaſioned by favouritiſm on the part of the king, and the jealouſy and power of the ariſtocracy of the country. The people, that miſerable body of rational animation, had nothing to do with the wars but to fight in them, and ſuffer under them. No right of theirs was conteſted, no privilege for them attained; they pined, bled, and died, under the overwhelming oppreſſion of royalty and ariſtocracy, which had ſo long deſolated the world.

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 172.

The

The beginning of the reign of Edward the Third was imbittered by the continuance of the war with Scotland, which was carried on with various ſucceſs, and which raged at intervals through many reigns. So fatal was the attempt of Edward the Firſt to conquer this independent kingdom, and with ſuch dreadful conſequences was his impudent claim to the crown of Scotland attended! He thought to have increaſed his own power, and that of his deſcendants; but he only entailed anxiety and murder upon his houſe.

No ſooner had the young king a reſpite from the Scotch war, than his kingdom was torn to pieces by civil broils between the factious barons. It is not of any importance to the reader to be informed of their bickerings; but he will receive conſolation in hearing of the fall of the deceitful, profligate, and bloody Mortimer, who died the death of a traitor by the hand of the executioner. The ambition of the young king was now preparing for his unhappy country a ſeries of wars, which exhauſted the reſources of nations, and diminiſhed for ages the ſtock of human beings. His youth had been raviſhed by the ſplendour of the court of France, which he had been obliged to viſit, and he determined to claim that kingdom as his right, and to ſeize it by force of arms.

As this ambition of Edward the Third was the cauſe of ſo much miſchief to two great kingdoms, it

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is proper to ſtate the nature of the claim to the crown of France which he had determined to enforce.

We ſhall find, on examining this title, that it was abſolutely baſeleſs, and the pretenſion to the crown of France as impudent as was that of Edward the Firſt to the crown of Scotland. Philip the Fair, king of France, had three ſons and one daughter at the time of his death; this daughter was Iſabel, the mother of Edward the Third.

By the Salique law, in France, females were excluded from the ſucceſſion to the crown of that kingdom. This was admitted by Edward, and diſputed by nobody.

Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip the Fair, ſucceeded his father, and died leaving a daughter.

Philip the brother of Lewis ſucceeded him, to the excluſion of the daughter of Lewis, and died leaving four daughters, but no ſons. Charles, the ſurviving brother of Philip, ſucceeded him, to the excluſion of all his daughters. Charles the Fair died without male iſſue.

Thus all the children of Philip the Fair died without male iſſue, and, according to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion, the right to reign was in Charles de Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, if he had been living; but he being dead, had left a ſon Philip de Valois, who of courſe claimed the crown. Edward was the ſon of Iſabel, ſiſter to Philip the Fair,

and

and notwithſtanding the Salique law which excluded females, notwithſtanding the numerous female children of the three brothers of Iſabel ſtill living, and ſome of them actually having male iſſue, Edward claimed the crown of France in right of his mother.

He acknowledged, indeed, that his *mother* was excluded by the Salique law; but he contended that *he* was not excluded, being a male deſcendant.

But had this reaſoning been good, Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip the Fair, left a daughter who had male iſſue, and his brother Philip left alſo a daughter who had male iſſue; ſo that both theſe princes had a better title than Edward the Third *.

Edward confided in another title, which was his ability to conquer the kingdom of France, and all beſides was a mere pretence.

The ſtates of France heard the pleadings of each claimant, and decided in favour of Philip de Valois: Edward, however, was determined to conquer France, prompted by his ambition, and irritated by the aſſiſtance which the kings of France had given to Scotland. In revenge for not being able to ſubdue one country, to the government of which he had no juſt claim, he now advances an unfounded claim to another country, and prepares to enforce it by an immenſe army.

In the year 1338, Edward began his preparations for the invaſion of France. In order to raiſe money,

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 203.

he

he left nothing untouched that was of any value in the kingdom, whether it belonged to the clergy or laity. Nay, ſo earneſt was his zeal in this great enterpriſe, that he even pawned his crown for fifty thouſand florins, to enable himſelf the more effectually to conduct this expedition *.

All things being ready to his ſatisfaction, and having appointed Edward, his eldeſt ſon, guardian of the kingdom in his abſence, he ſailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, on the 16th of July, 1338. He aſſumed the title of king of France, that he might induce ſome to follow him, through the belief that his title was valid. The real king of France was at the head of a very formidable army, in the ſight of which Edward was for ſome time; but neither Edward nor Philip dared to riſque a general action, and the firſt campaign ended without any thing being accompliſhed.

Edward now found all his money expended, and himſelf in debt to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds. Thus circumſtanced, he haſtened to England, to impoſe upon his ſubjects freſh burthens, and to prepare for a ſecond campaign.

He found his ſubjects not quite ſo tame as he expected, for they at firſt refuſed to grant him the ſupplies. He repreſented to them his miſerable con-

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 209.

dition,

dition, and, after practiſing all the addreſs of which he was maſter, his parliament agreed to grant him the ninth ſheaf, fleece, and lamb, of all their lands for two years; and the citizens and burgeſſes granted a ninth of their moveables according to their real value, beſides a great addition to the cuſtoms on wool, fells, leather, and other goods *.

Even this immenſe grant was not ſufficient; he borrowed, in addition to it, all the money he could raiſe in that way in the kingdom. The ſpirits of the nation were elated ſoon after this oppreſſive impoſition by a victory at ſea, which the Engliſh obtained over the French, near Sluys, on Midſummer-day, 1340.

The victories of kings have ſeldom been beneficial to ſubjects; but their ignorance has generally led the ſtupid dupes to rejoice at the ſucceſs of their maſters, although they have found that the increaſe of their power more effectually rivetted their own chains. This was a bloody battle, and many a widow and many an orphan lamented it in pathetic ſtrains.

Thirty thouſand French were killed or drowned, and two hundred of their ſhips were taken!

This ſucceſs (for the ſucceſsful have many friends, becauſe they have much to give) bound Edward's foreign allies to him cloſely, who were

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 213.

before

before lukewarm in his cauſe, and animated his ſubjects to raiſe the granted ſupplies with great alacrity.

Edward, however, did not ſee the tide of ſucceſs continue to flow. The next campaign ended in a truce, and coſt him much, without giving him any advantages. The king, growing now weary, was inclined to peace; but the king of France offered conditions which Edward would not accept. Laden with debt, and full of perplexity, Edward returned to England, where he found every thing greatly neglected. The king, no longer ſucceſsful and rich, found himſelf deſerted by all his allies, one after another; whoſe conduct proved, that whatever be the conduct of ordinary men, princes and kings never riſe above the horizon of ſelf-intereſt.

In this ſtate of Edward's affairs, an ally offered himſelf, who was bound to fidelity by a leading intereſt. The ſucceſſion to the dukedom of Brittany was diſputed, and the pretender, John de Mountfort, ſought the alliance of Edward, as the means of enforcing his claim to Brittany.

Thus ſupported, Edward went again to the continent; but notwithſtanding the animating ſpirit of Jane, the heroic wife of John de Mountfort, who rallied the troops with great ſucceſs, this campaign in Brittany was productive of no advantage, but ended in a truce, which was to continue till Michael-

mas 1346, during which, meaſures were to be taken for a general pacification.

This truce was ill obſerved on both ſides, and peace not being concluded, Edward ſent an army into Britany, which was very ſucceſsful on various occaſions. He then went in perſon, attended with the Prince of Wales, and ſpread terror and diſmay to the very gates of Paris. During this campaign the celebrated battle of Crecy was fought, in which the Prince of Wales, afterwards called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, not yet 16 years of age, performed prodigies of valour, and diſplayed, when praiſed by his father, as much modeſty as courage.

If the accounts are worthy of credit which are given of this battle, the ſlaughter was dreadful, almoſt beyond example in the bloody annals of war.

The French are ſaid to have left on the field the King of Bohemia, eleven other princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and 30,000 other ſoldiers *.

Such is the tale of murder, and ſuch was the glory of a *Chriſtian* king enforcing an unjuſt claim!!

This battle was fought Auguſt 26, 1346.

Edward then proceeded to Calais, which he reduced, and on the 28th of September, 1347, a truce was concluded between the kings of England

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 238.

and

and France, to continue to the 8th of July next year, but which was prolonged by ſucceeding treaties to A. D. 1355.

Edward with the Prince of Wales, after theſe brillient achievements, returned to England in October 1347. But he returned to oppreſs his ſubjects by a demand of freſh ſupplies; they partook not of his glory, nor did they find foreign conqueſt beneficial to them. The king, finding it difficult, even amidſt the ſplendour of victory, to raiſe the money he wanted, repreſented that the French were preparing to *invade* and *deſtroy England*; and thus working upon their ignorance, he induced the commons, after bitter complaints of their poverty and his ſevere taxations, to grant him three fifteenths, to be levied in three years, and appropriated to the charges of the war*.

Epidemical diſorders ſeldom, if ever, prevail in a country not oppreſſed by poverty and famine; hence we almoſt always ſee ſome raging diſeaſe follow in the train of deſolating war. The ſubjects of this warlike and ambitious king, drained of their money and their comforts, now fell a ſacrifice to an overſpreading peſtilence.

In the year 1349, this diſeaſe broke out in England, and in various parts of agitated Europe; and it may ſerve to illuſtrate its deſtructive rage, to obſerve, that in one year there were buried, who died

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 244.

of

of it, *in one church-yard* in London, 50,000 perſons!

England became a large grave, and every town a ſeat of mourning. Some ſay two thirds of the people of this country died; ſome nine tenths, with the greateſt part of the cattle of all kinds *.

Calamities leſs than thoſe which were experienced, might have been expected, to have damped the military ardour of Edward, and awakened to a ſenſe of their intereſt, the infatuated people. We ſhall not find, however, that this effect was produced.

In the year 1350, Philip de Valois, king of France, died, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, John the Firſt. Notwithſtanding the waſte of the war and the peſtilence in England, Edward continued ſo to ſtir the ſpirits of his ſubjects againſt France, that they granted him large ſupplies to continue the war, A. D. 1352.

In the year 1355, Prince Edward again invaded France at the head of an immenſe army, and ſpread deſolation over that country, now diſtracted by domeſtic factions, as well as exhauſted by continued war. Although the prince at firſt met with no formidable oppoſition, he burned five hundred villages, and many flouriſhing and ſtrong towns.

This was in the ſouth of France, and King Ed-

* Rapin, Hiſt. Eng. Hume. Henry, vol. vii. Stow's Survey, vol. ii.

ward was at the ſame time ſpreading ruin over the north. The next year was fought the famous battle of Poictiers, in which Prince Edward diſplayed incredible valour, and in which the French king and one of his ſons, with many others of the firſt rank in his kingdom, were made priſoners. The king and the people of England received the intelligence of this victory with rapture, and the prince, with his royal and noble priſoners, arrived in England on the 5th of May, 1357, and made his triumphal entry into London.

Edward had already the king of Scotland as a priſoner, and when he ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the king of France, his happineſs was great, and his confidence entire, "that the world was made for "Cæſar." France was now in a moſt diſtracted ſtate; torn by factions, exhauſted by war, and governed, in the abſence of the king, by a prince of only nineteen years old; to complete its misfortunes, Edward again invaded that kingdom at the head of a powerful army, October 1359. He waſted the country in his march, and preſently beſieged Paris, the capital of the captive king.

The king, not able to accompliſh his purpoſe in reducing Paris, agreed to a peace, by which he obtained the ceſſion of the ſuperiority of Guienne and Ponthieu; and the earldom of Poictiers, the fief of Thouars, the counties of Poictou, Xaintouge, Agenois,

nois, Limouſin, Perigort, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouvergue, with all their cities and caſtles, in full ſovereignty *. To theſe were added Calais, and the earldom of Guiſnes. Several conceſſions were made to Edward in favour of Mountfort, in reſpect to the dutchy of Brittany, and the king of France agreed to renounce all connexion with the Scots; and on his part, Edward renounced all title to the kingdom of France, the countries of Normandy, Tourain, Anjou, and Main, with the ſovereignty of Brittany and Flanders.

This appeared to be a glorious concluſion of a ſucceſsful war; but were the people of England benefited? They, indeed, received their portion of benefit, in the rage of another dreadful peſtilence, which broke out A. D. 1361, immediately after theſe events, and ſwept off incredible numbers of them.

But this war did not end here, and a very few years produced a reverſe of fortune, and laid the conqueſts and glory of Edward in the duſt. The king of England reſigned theſe conqueſts to his beloved ſon, Edward the Black Prince, who ſettled at Bourdeaux, and might have conciliated the inhabitants of the ceded country, if an unfortunate affair had not here occurred.

The execrable aſſaſſin Don Pedro, king of Caſtile, ſurnamed the Cruel, was dethroned, and making

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 265.

his court to Prince Edward with great addreſs, that prince raiſed an army and reſtored him to the throne. But two calamities were the conſequence of this war, one of them at leaſt common to all wars; the prince loſt his health, and by impoſing burthens upon his ſubjects for this expedition, loſt their affection, and laid the foundation of the loſs of the Engliſh dominions in France.

The diſcontents of the ſubjects of the prince, on account of his taxes, encouraged Charles, who had aſcended the throne of his father, John, king of France, to raiſe an army, and to attempt to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of the countries, which his father had ceded to them.

King Edward, ſeeing the conditions of peace broken on the part of France, with the advice of his parliament, again reſumed the title and arms of king of France, and prepared to aſſert his claim to that kingdom. But ſucceſs no longer attended the arms of Edward; the Black Prince, unable from bad health to command the armies, returned to England; and before the end of the year 1374, after incredible expence and ſuffering, the King of England had loſt all his ſplendid conqueſts in France, except Calais.

It is remarked by a candid hiſtorian, that "the "Engliſh were at as great an expence in loſing, as "they had been in gaining, their French dominions *."

* Henry's Hiſt. Eng. vol. xii. p. 282.

Thus

Thus did the arts of a tyrant triumph over the diſcretion of the Black Prince; and thus did the expence of a war, undertaken to reſtore a tyrant to his throne, induce the ſubjects of this excellent prince to revolt, and prove the occaſion of the King of England being deprived of countries, to which he had the ſame right, as a highwayman has to the purſe he has juſt ſeized. Is it aſked, if the people of England gained any thing or loſt any thing by theſe events? The loſs of theſe countries on the continent was of advantage to them; for they had occaſioned, and were likely to occaſion to them, an incredible expence; and all they had derived from the ambition of their king, were "battle, murder, and ſudden death," for the peſtilence, with which they were viſited, carried off its victims in a few hours.

In the midſt of theſe events Edward the Black Prince died; of whom it may ſafely be affirmed, that if he had imbibed a better philoſophy, and abſtained from the exerciſe of war, he would have been one of the moſt perfect characters that have ever been the boaſt of human nature.

King Edward ſoon followed his ſon, for he died A. D. 1377, having reigned fifty years.

If we eſtimate the characters of men by their accompliſhments, we muſt pronounce Edward to be a great man. If we eſtimate his character by the happineſs or miſery occaſioned by an individual to mankind, we muſt pronounce Edward, one of the ſe-

vereſt ſcourges of the human race, with which they have been ever viſited in the form of a man. The philoſophy of the times taught Edward that it was glorious to be a conqueror; and if we forgive him his ambition, we muſt allow him many virtues.

It is the buſineſs of the people to correct an ambition, which, however it may render their prince celebrated, can never confer upon them advantage or glory.

He who purſues the path of ſucceſsful ambition, impoveriſhes his ſubjects for a good they can never ſhare; and he who fails in his attempts at greatneſs, covers himſelf with ſhame, and oppreſſes his people that they may partake of his reproach.

Edward the Third attempted to increaſe, not the happineſs of his ſubjects, but the ſplendour of his throne; but in the attempt he entailed war upon his houſe, and left his deſcendants a country to which he had made no permanent additions, but Calais and Berwick, to purchaſe which, millions periſhed by the ſword, peſtilence, or famine!!

CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD the Second, the only ſon of Edward the Black prince, ſucceeded his grandfather on the Engliſh throne, being then only ten years old.

War with France and Scotland occupied thoſe who directed the government of the young king, who was under the direction of his uncles, but chiefly of the eldeſt of them, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter. The war was, however, conducted with little vigour. The Duke of Lancaſter, who was ambitious of military diſtinction, put himſelf at the head of the army now acting againſt France, and then acting againſt Scotland; but he diſſipated the treaſures of the country, which were put into his hands for conducting the war, without gaining any conqueſts, or gathering any laurels.

In this ſtate of things a parliament aſſembled, Nov. 5, 1380, on whom freſh demands were made for the pay of the armies.

After long deliberation, ariſing from the difficulty they knew there would be in collecting the taxes, from the wretched and exhauſted ſtate of the coun-

try, they at laſt impoſed a poll-tax of three groats on every perſon in the kingdom above fifteen years of age, except mere beggars*.

The ſufferings, which thoſe called Villains, who were little raiſed above the character of ſlaves, had borne of late in this country, were incredible. They had no ſhare in the glory of their late ſovereign, yet their labour ſupported him in all his power, and made eaſy all his conqueſts. In reward for long ſubmiſſion and inceſſant toil, burthen followed burthen, and tax ſucceeded tax ſo rapidly, that at laſt theſe deſpiſed and injured men grew impatient of a yoke no longer tolerable.

The poll-tax juſt impoſed preſſed heavily upon them; and a circumſtance ſoon took place which rouſed all their energies to motion and activity.

An inſolent and brutal tax-gatherer inſulted the daughter of Walter, a tyler, in Deptford, under pretence of aſcertaining her age, and whether ſhe was liable to pay the tax. The father, indignant at oppreſſion, and agitated by the wounded ſenſibility of a parent, the moſt exquiſite and dear of the human heart, roſe upon the hired ruffian, and killed him upon the ſpot. His neighbours ſympathiſed with his feelings, applauded his juſtice, and, gathering round him, offered their bodies as a rampart for his protection. The ſound of vengeance was heard, and the government threat-

* Parliamt. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 360.

ened

ened perdition to him who had laid its bully in the duſt.

The inſurgents ſent meſſengers to different counties, inviting them to join their party, and throw off the yoke of bondage under which they had groaned ſo long.

This invitation was heard as the herald of deliverance, and catching up what arms they could find, the long abuſed commons left their homes, and marched towards London. The inſurgents of Kent, Eſſex, and the neighbouring counties, came to a general rendezvous at Blackheath, June 12, 1381, when they are reported to have amounted to one hundred thouſand men *. Wat the Tyler was at the head of this formidable army, and his companions believed, that he who poſſeſſed the feelings of a man and a father, ought to have credit for poſſeſſing thoſe of a patriot.

From Blackheath they ſent a meſſage to the king, inviting him to a conference, and complaining of the maladminiſtration of his uncles. He appointed to meet them next morning, if they would approach the banks of the Thames; but when he ſaw them he was afraid, and without ſpeaking to them, returned to the Tower.

The inſurgents entered London, where they did much miſchief, and cauſed great conſternation.

The king now appointed to meet them at Mile

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 307.

End,

End, whither he went, and demanded what was their object, and what they wiſhed him to do.

Like every invading army, they had marked their march with deſolation and outrage, but their anſwer to the king was full of juſtice and moderation.

"*They demanded that they, their lands, poſſeſſions,* "*and poſterity, might be free, and that there might be* "*no ſlaves or ſervitude in England for ever* *."

The king *promiſed* to grant their requeſt, and confirmed his promiſe by ſigning and ſealing charters to this effect. Wat the Tyler and his Kentiſh inſurgents were yet in London, perhaps uninformed of what had paſſed. Some hiſtorians ſay they had formed the deſign of murdering the nobility, burning the city of London, and ſeizing the king. But no evidence is produced of any ſuch intention.

On the 15th of June, the king met Wat the Tyler in Smithfield, and whilſt he was converſing with him on the demands he made of the king, Walworth, the lord mayor of London, came behind the Tyler and ſtabbed him in the back.

The inſurgents diſperſed; but ſuch was the oppreſſion that the commons of England now ſuffered, that there were inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom.

As ſoon as the inſurgents were diſperſed, the king, regardleſs of his faith and of the comfort of his ſub-

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. vii. p. 311.

jects,

jects, raiſed an army and revoked the charters he had granted. Young as this king was, he had learned to admiration the trade of deception and tyranny.

This inſurrection, whatever were its character, and with whatever calamity attended, is the legitimate *conſequence* of Edward the Third's wars.

It is curious to obſerve how the venal pens of courtly hiſtorians repreſent and colour this inſurrection. We admit that violences were committed, and whilſt we admit the fact we lament it. But violences were not committed where no injury had been received, which was the caſe in the wars of Edward the Firſt and Edward the Third, in Scotland and France. The wars conducted by the two Edwards were marked with a different deſolation from that which marked the march of the commons of England, riſing in their own defence. They were guilty of no cold-blooded cruelty, they went upon no cold calculations of conqueſt, they ſlew thoſe from whom they had received injury, and from whom their fathers had received death. They demanded only ſafety in their chambers, peace at their fire-ſides, and that liberty ſhould not be denied to their children, their dear and only riches.

Their object was good, if war be ever lawful; and if it never be lawful, if in all caſes it be prohibited by chriſtianity, even in ſelf-defence, which was the caſe of the inſurrection under conſideration, never yet has there a chriſtian king reigned, and chriſtianity

chriſtianity cannot be acted upon in this world of violence.

This is the firſt attempt in England in favour of *the people*; it was unſucceſsful, or its author would have been enrolled amongſt heroes, and regarded as the ſaviour of his country. We ſacrifice to the manes of no hero—heroes have been the deſtroyers of mankind; but were we to ſelect a hero for our praiſe from the bloody annals of our country, he would not be the laſt we ſhould chooſe, who made the firſt attempt in favour of the liberty of the commons, and waged againſt oppreſſors *a defenſive war*.

After the king had raiſed an army and revoked the charters, he gave commiſſions to certain judges to go to the different counties and put to death the chief inſurgents. Theſe commiſſions were executed with brutal violence, and about 1500 ſuffered. After the king had given away his pardon and his word, the commiſſions we have named were no other than *commiſſions of murder*.

A leſſon this, from which ſubjects may learn to "put no confidence in princes," and to rely upon themſelves in ſeaſons of oppreſſion.

This wretched king paid dearly for his neglect of the ſalutary leſſon given him by the inſurrection of the commons of England; for, purſuing his ſchemes of war, his oppreſſions became ſo odious that he was diſhonoured and dethroned. He who would learn the fate of kings who regard

not

not the good of their ſubjects, may conſult the writings of the excellent Fenelon, archbiſhop of Cambray; who, in king Bocchoris, has not unhappily deſcribed our Richard the Second *.

It is no buſineſs of ours to detail the inceſſant but unimportant wars carried on in this reign againſt France and Scotland, or the domeſtic broils with which the kingdom was continually agitated; it is ſufficient to ſtate that, as the wars againſt Scotland and France were a continuation of what were unjuſtly begun by the two Edwards, their cauſe was bad, and that their conſequences were fatal to the comfort and internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and at laſt fatal to Richard, who was depoſed, and ſucceeded by Henry of Bolingbroke (become duke of Lancaſter by the death of his father), Sept. 30, A. D. 1399.

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, ought to have ſucceeded Richard, if hereditary right had been attended to; but the duke of Lancaſter ſtepped upon the vacant throne by the name of Henry the Fourth.

Had the faithleſs Richard connected himſelf with his commons, fulfilled the charters to them, and become, as was in his power, their favourite, he might have defended himſelf againſt the factious nobility, eſcaped depoſition, and an untimely death, which ſoon followed his depoſition.

* Les Avant. de Telem. liv. 2.

Richard

Richard was dethroned in the 23d year of his reign.

Henry the Fourth was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than he was filled with anxiety on account of the deficiency of his title, and as we ſhall trace many wars to this ſource, it will be neceſſary to ſtate what were the defects of the title of Henry to the crown. We ſhall paſs over the circumſtance of Richard being ſtill alive at the time he ſeized the crown, for that wretched prince did not live long, neither did he leave any deſcendants to claim the ſucceſſion after him.

Henry the Fourth was the ſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter; but John of Gaunt had an elder brother, Lionel duke of Clarence. Roger earl of March was the ſon of Lionel, and had been declared preſumptive heir of Richard the Second by act of parliament. This Roger had left a ſon, Edmund Mortimer, now earl of March, who was of courſe the heir to the crown before Henry duke of Lancaſter, who had juſt ſeized it. Richard earl of Cambridge, ſon of Edmund duke of York, had married Ann, ſiſter of Edmund earl of March, and as there was no Salique law in England, he claimed a right to the throne before Henry.

Henry, conſcious of the deficiency of his title, attempted to ſtrengthen his power by conciliating the nobility and the clergy, and negociating a peace with Scotland and France.

All theſe precautions could not guard the king againſt

againſt miſchief; for he had been only a few months on the throne when he diſcovered that a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, which ended in the deſtruction of ſome of the principal nobility who had formed the plot, and who were executed without mercy *.

How difficult is it to diſcover the laws of morality, which lie buried, in general, under the inſtitutes of nations! What men call treaſon to-day, is applauded as patriotiſm to-morrow; and what yeſterday was loyalty, is made felony and treaſon to-day. Yet the opinions of men follow the ever-changing chameleon-deciſions of the law, and morality, which is eternal, is made the creature of faſhion and caprice. This conſpiracy, if there be any thing in hereditary right, was formed *againſt* an uſurper, although the conſpirators all died the death of traitors, and as ſuch were proclaimed to the world!

The hiſtory of England, we fear, we may add, the hiſtory of the world, exhibits no proof that morality was ever conſulted in the notions of *right* which have guided the conduct of princes; for to them the *power* to accompliſh any purpoſe has ever been the warrant and authority to act.

He who is acquainted with the annals of mankind will pay little reſpect to the laws of nations, which have ever been dictated by tyrants, and varied according to their pleaſure; but will reſpect, and will

* Hall.

only

only reſpect, the laws and dictates of humanity. How mankind ſhall be governed in future, it is impoſſible to ſay; but that they have hitherto been governed by *force* cannot be denied.

Muſcular ſtrength has indeed been ſubdued by the energies of mind; but the advantage to man has only been, that the cunning of a pick-pocket has ſucceeded to the ſtrength of a ruffian.

After puniſhing the traitorous conſpiritors againſt his ſacred perſon, Henry relieved his anxieties by the murder of Richard, Feb. 13, 1400*.

He had until this time kept the anointed Richard in priſon, ever ſince the celeſtial oil had anointed himſelf; which was brought, according to the belief of thoſe times recorded by all contemporary hiſtorians, from heaven by the Virgin Mary, for that ſpecial purpoſe.

The wars againſt France and Scotland were continued in this reign, the cauſes of which we have already related; but nothing very memorable happened in their conduct, and Henry ſeems rather to have ſought peace with thoſe powers, that he might be the better able to cope with his domeſtic enemies; of whom the number was not ſmall.

Owen Glendour produced a revolt in Wales, and got himſelf acknowledged Prince of Wales by the people, ſoon after Henry had ſeized the throne. The Welſh were always ready for revolt ever ſince

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. ix. p. 10.

they

they had been conquered, and conſidered themſelves as unjuſtly ſubjected to a foreign yoke.

This Prince of Wales was joined, A. D. 1403, by a formidable body of noblemen, who determined to dethrone Henry if poſſible, and to put the crown upon the head of Mortimer, whoſe claim to it was better, as far as laws ever bending to power and uſurpation, and not perhaps founded in reaſon and morality, could make it better, than that of their preſent king. The Scots, alſo, joined the conſpirators.

No doubt, of theſe noblemen, each ſought his own perſonal advantage, and paid little regard to the hereditary right thus ſet up, as a pretence for inſurrection, and to delude the people; for the hereditary right of the laſt king, Richard the Second, was founded in previous uſurpation, and could only boaſt of the antiquity of a few generations. The wretched people, however, had neither benefit nor expectation from any king; in ſeeking to depoſe Henry they only courted a new tyrant; for Henry and all their kings had ſhewn a willingneſs to trace their *right* to govern, to any authority rather than to the *choice of the people*, the legitimate ſource of all human power.

On the 21ſt of July, 1403, was fought the famous battle of Shrewſbury, in which, as the friends of Henry ſaid, Providence favoured the new king; for Hotſpur, ſon of the duke of Northumberland, was ſlain, with moſt of the heads of the conſpiracy.

Whether the holy oil brought from heaven by the Virgin Mary had rendered this uſurper invulnerable, is not ſaid; it is certain that he expoſed himſelf to danger, and came off unhurt.

Two years had not elapſed before another dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt Henry, in order to ſet the earl of March on the throne; but this alſo was defeated by a ſtratagem, juſt as the grand armies approached each other.

The country, thus kept in a ſtate of conſtant war and agitation, was reduced to ſevere diſtreſs, and, A. D. 1407, a dreadful peſtilence waſted the kingdom. "Thirty thouſand perſons died in London, "and in the country whole families were extirpated, "and many houſes left empty *." Thus the people of England were deſtroyed by the contentions of their tyrants, about who ſhould be their chief or king!

Towards the cloſe of his reign, and in conſequence of the diſtractions now exiſting in the internal of France, Henry, who had all along ſought for peace with that power, began to intrigue with the contending parties, and to engage in acts of hoſtility againſt that kingdom. Death, however, which ſpares neither rank nor age, carried off this monarch, 20th March, A. D. 1413, after he had enjoyed the fruits of murder and tyranny thirteen years.

This deteſtable villain was a man of talents, but ambitious, jealous, and cruel. Superſtition, the

* Henry, vol. ix. p. 29.

conſtant

conſtant aſſociate of crime, was cheriſhed by this man of blood, and he died as he had lived; being ſeized with his illneſs at church, he expired in the abbot's lodgings in Weſtminſter.

Henry was ſucceeded in the throne, as his lawful heir, by his eldeſt ſon, Henry the Fifth, amidſt the applauſe of his people.

The beginning of this Henry's reign was attended by an inſurrection. The prieſts began now to be diſturbed by the diſciples of Wickliff, and, favoured by the king, they condemned Lord Cobham, who had merited the favour of the king by great ſervices, to be burned. He eſcaped from priſon, and the Lollards, his friends, roſe in St. Giles's Fields, A. D. 1414. Cobham was afterwards taken and murdered, as a heretic. Such was the religion of the prieſts of thoſe days!

A prince with a diſputed title is always a monſter of cruelty, becauſe he knows the hollowneſs of his own pretenſions, and ſees in every man an enemy; and it is remarkable that prieſts have always put men to the moſt cruel deaths; burning has always been one of their tender mercies. The reaſon of ſuch brutal ferocity is obvious. They know that their pretenſions to authority and rule in this world are abſolutely unfounded, and their rage is the more horrible, in proportion as their deſtruction is certain, from the progreſs of knowledge.

Let it not be ſuppoſed that this reflection warrants mankind to treat modern prieſts with cruelty.

Their violence has nearly exhauſted itſelf, and God forbid that any ſhould diſgrace themſelves by trampling upon a tiger, whom time has robbed of his teeth. The laws of humanity are of eternal and univerſal obligation, and he ſhould be held up to the ſcorn of the univerſe who does not regard all cruelty, on whomſoever exerciſed, as deteſtable.

Henry, having diſpoſed of the heretics and gratified the prieſts, now laid claim to the crown of France. We have ſhewn already that the claim of Edward the Third to that crown was unfounded; but Henry had not even that claim, as the earl of March repreſented the third Edward; but Henry, in becoming the king of England, thought, no doubt, that he was heir to whoever had been king of this country.

Henry made all poſſible preparations to aſſert, by force of arms, this impudent claim. Indeed he ſaw in the diſtractions of France his title, and his only title, to the crown; for he relied upon his army, and he hoped the diviſions of France would ſecure his triumph.

The king ſailed for France with a fine army, and his campaign ended with the famous battle of Agincourt, 25th October, A. D. 1415, in which the Engliſh, with Henry at their head, defeated a French army of ten times their number, with immenſe ſlaughter. After this the king returned to England, where he was received with the greateſt joy and applauſe.

In the year 1417, Henry again invaded France, and this campaign, in which the king of England was attended with the greateſt ſucceſs, ended in the famous treaty of Arras, by which it was agreed that Henry ſhould marry the Princeſs Katharine of France, that King Charles ſhould enjoy the crown of that kingdom during his life, that Henry ſhould be regent of France during Charles's incapacity for government (who was ſubject to fits of madneſs), and that he ſhould ſucceed to the crown at his death.

Thus Henry ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed his unjuſt claim; but the diſturbances of France were not yet ſettled, and before he could overcome the party that was there formed againſt him he died, Auguſt 31, A. D. 1422, having reigned nine years and ſome months.

He was a man of great talents and diſtinguiſhed courage; but in his attempts to ſeize the crown of France he acted from an unjuſt motive, and all his ſplendid conqueſts in that kingdom entailed nothing but a curſe upon England.

He left an infant ſon, who was proclaimed king; but the war raged in France with increaſed fury, and the ſequel will ſhew the folly, as the preceding has ſhewn the injuſtice, of foreign conqueſt.

After the death of Charles VI. king of France, which ſoon followed that of his ſon-in-law Henry V. of England, the infant Henry VI. was proclaimed king of France, whilſt the ſon of Charles took upon

him the ſame title, which was now to be eſtabliſhed to one of them by the ſword.

The duke of Bedford, the king's uncle, was regent of France, and prepared to ſupport the claims of the infant Henry by all that ſagacity could plan, and courage execute.

The tide of ſucceſs continued to flow, and the Engliſh triumphed in every battle, until the fortune of war was changed by the appearance of one of the moſt remarkable characters that have ever adorned human nature.

The people of France obſerved, with emotion, their once powerful kingdom torn aſunder, and humbled before an invading enemy. Every hour reported to the country ſome new diſaſter, and France was doomed to become the territory of a foreign prince. Although in France, as in every country in Europe at this moment, the people properly ſo called, had but little reaſon to regard their country with tenderneſs; for, in fact, to them there was no country which afforded juſt protection, and ſecured a juſt reward of toil; yet every great change affects the mind, even of indifferent ſpectators, with aſtoniſhment and with anxiety, and that man is not yet born by whom the fate of empires is regarded with indifference. The people of France ſympathiſed with the condition of that country, as if it had been *their* country, and in the awful criſis of its fate forgot its injuſtice.

The

The magic ſpell of ſuperſtition had taught the ſacredneſs of kings, and heaven was ſuppoſed to be moved by the fate of monarchs.

Joan of Arc was born in the pariſh of Greux, upon the Meuſe, in the village of Dompre, A. D. 1407. Her parents were poor, and her education ſlender. She ſpent her early years in ſervice, and lived ſome time at an inn at Neufchatel in Lorrain. Here, obliged occaſionally to attend the ſtables, ſhe became expert in the manly exerciſe of riding. She was remarkable for vigour and activity. When every mind was occupied by the impending fate of France, this young woman catched the general feeling. She meditated deeply on the ſubject. She thought heaven and earth united to affirm the title of Charles to the throne. She thought heaven would raiſe up a deliverer for France; for heaven is juſt, and the great cauſe demanded its interpoſition. Full of theſe ideas, ſhe meditated, ſhe prayed, ſhe dreamed. Her mind was full of the ſubject day and night. She thought of David, the ſhepherd youth, the heroic deliverer of Iſrael. The meanneſs of the inſtrument magnified the divine power. Rapt with theſe ideas, the trouble and ardour of her mind ended in inſpiration and viſion. She believed God would raiſe up an inſtrument—ſhe believed ſhe had his commiſſion. She converſed with St. Margaret and St. Catharine, who commanded her, by the authority of God, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct King Charles to be crowned at Rheims. She was twenty-two years of age, active, vigorous,

and full of reſolution. She did not deſpiſe the divine command. She haſtened to the court, and was permitted to open her commiſſion to the king.

She addreſſed the king with reſpect, but with the freedom and confidence becoming one, who bore a high commiſſion. She told him her name was Joan, the maid; that God had ſent her to his aſſiſtance; and that if he would put troops under her direction, ſhe would, by the aſſiſtance of heaven, raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and lead him to be crowned at Rheims.

Her manner was commanding. The whole court partook of her enthuſiaſm, and were inſpired with faith in her promiſes. The ſtory flew from rank to rank, from army to army, revived the drooping ſpirits of the French, and ſtruck the Engliſh with aſtoniſhment and fear.

Seven months the ſiege had continued, and ſixty forts had been conſtructed round that city by the Engliſh. Every day they expected the town to ſurrender. A convoy of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, collected at Blois, was ſent to the relief of Orleans. Five thouſand men eſcorted this convoy. The Maid of Orleans accompanied the convoy, diſplaying her ſtandard in the front of the army, well mounted and completely armed.

When ſhe approached Orleans, the Engliſh, aſtoniſhed and diſmayed, made a feeble reſiſtance, the convoy was conveyed into the city without loſs; and the maid entered in triumph, amidſt univerſal acclamations. The French, inſpired with new

new ardour, every day ſallied forth upon the enemy; an offenſive operation to which they had long been ſtrangers. Six thouſand Engliſh periſhed in theſe ſallies; and the Engliſh, diſpirited and always beaten, cauſed the ſiege to be raiſed May 8, 1429.

The Engliſh and the French agreed that the Maid poſſeſſed powers ſupernatural; but the former aſcribed to the devil what the latter ſaid came from God.

The earl of Suffolk had retired from the walls of Orleans into Gergeaux with 1200 men; thither the French followed him, and the town was taken by ſcalade—one half of the garriſon was killed; the other half, with Suffolk himſelf and his brother, were made priſoners. The Maid was here wounded on the head, and thrown from the top of her ladder into the ditch. But ſhe animated the troops in the midſt of diſaſter. "Advance, my brave coun-"trymen," ſhe cried from the ditch, "God has "doomed the Engliſh to deſtruction."

The Engliſh having collected together a formidable army, it was thought hazardous to riſque an action. In this difficulty the French conſulted the Maid. "Let us fight the Engliſh," cried ſhe, "in the name "of God, if they were ſuſpended in the clouds!" "Where ſhall we find them," ſaid they—"March, "march," ſaid the Maid, "God will be your "guide *."

The ſoldiers became bold, and fear fled from the

* Villar. tom. x.

camp,

camp. They ruſhed to action in the confidence of victory, and victory was theirs.

Charles now, regardleſs of difficulty, marched to Rheims, where he was crowned on the 18th of July.

The Maid, her prophecies fulfilled, her work glorioufly accompliſhed, fell proſtrate at the feet of Charles, and melting under the ſtrength of her emotions, with a flood of tears, demanded permiſſion to return into her former ſtation; but the king had now learned her value, refuſed her requeſt, and ennobled her and her family.

She continued with the army, performing prodigies of valour; but on the following year, May 25, as ſhe headed a ſally from the town of Compeigne, ſhe was taken priſoner.

The Engliſh triumphed at her captivity more than they would have done at that of the beſt French general and fifty thouſand ſoldiers. They threw her into a dungeon, and loaded her with irons. After this brutal uſage, they brought her before the inquiſition, and tried her for *hereſy*, *ſorcery*, and *witchcraft*.

The chamber of murder ſat Feb. 13, A. D. 1431. Joan was brought before them laden with irons, which ſhe intreated them to relieve her from; but her judges were deaf to her cries. They denied her the aſſiſtance of counſel, and ſought to enſnare her with ſubtile and perplexing queſtions. But her anſwers were prompt and effectual. She affirmed the reality of her inſpiration. They could not confound her,

her, they could convict her of nothing, but wearing man's apparel and carrying arms. She conſented, after their exhortations and threats, to ſign never more to wear man's apparel or carry arms. She retired from this terrible tribunal, and dreſſed herſelf according to her ſex. This dreſs was taken away in the night by her guards; and, after bitter cries and lamentations, to hide herſelf from vulgar and rude inſpection, ſhe drew over her ſome part of the clothes which had been left inſtead of the female dreſs. Her keepers now ruſhed into the room, and ſwore ſhe was again in man's apparel. Her judges were aſſembled, and the ſentence of death was paſſed upon her, for this act which they had compelled her to perform, as a relapſed heretic.

The inquiſition had examined every circumſtance of her life, had diſpatched inquirers to the place where her childhood and youth had been paſſed; but the early days of Joan were without reproach. Her morals had no ſtain. She was condemned to be burned. The fire was kindled, and Joan, the terror of armies, was led forth. Her health was waſted by confinement and chains. She was firm and pious, calling to the laſt upon Jeſus. The ſpectators were moved, a general tremour ſeized all the crowd, except the prieſts her murderers. The ſecular magiſtrates were deprived of utterance, and could only ſay *proceed*. The executioners did their office, and on the 30th of May, 1431, periſhed in the flames, Joan of Arc, the ſaviour of her country,

the

the greateſt of her ſex, the wonder of ages. It belonged to the prieſts to be the murderers of this illuſtrious patriot, it belongs to Providence to viſit her murder on their race. It is done; and with a vengeance which we deplore with all the bitterneſs of grief.

The duke of Bedford imagined that crowning Charles had given him an advantage, and reſolved that Henry alſo ſhould be crowned.

He ſent for the infant king into France, in order that that ceremony ſhould be performed. But in ſuch an exhauſted ſtate was England, owing to the oppreſſive taxes which were impoſed to carry on the French wars, that ſix months were conſumed in raiſing money for the infant's voyage; and at length it was procured by pawning the jewels of the crown, and forced loans, ſome as low as five marks *.

Is not this a fact full of inſtruction? Do not the *people* here read the impolicy of all attempts at foreign conqueſt, which are always made by the ſacrifice of all *their* comforts, and without ever affording *them* any benefit?

The rage of war produced, both in England and France, a dreadful famine, which was attended by a deſtroying peſtilence. It were impoſſible to deſcribe the cruel devaſtation war, famine, and peſtilence, made at this time, A. D. 1438, in theſe two countries, torn to pieces by the ambition of kings †.

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. ix. page 101.

† Monſtrelet.

Thouſands

Thouſands were ſtarved to death, and thouſands wore out a miſerable exiſtence, exhauſted by diſeaſe, and pining in frightful poverty. This was the reward of the loyalty of the poor people of England!

France and England preſented a ſpectacle for the commiſeration of Europe, which, but for the deſolation of war, would have been her beſt and faireſt countries.

Thus exhauſted, a truce was concluded A. D. 1444, which was continued until A. D. 1450.

Before the truce was well concluded (indeed it had been but ill kept) the arms of France had made a wonderful progreſs againſt the Engliſh, and before the middle of Auguſt A. D. 1450, *all Normandy* ſurrendered to the French.

Thus were the famous conqueſts of Henry the Fifth reduced to nothing—and England, groaning under the burthens with which ſhe was laden, had ſcarcely any thing now to boaſt of in France.

The people, made deſperate by the ambition and tyranny of their kings, every where diſcovered ſymptoms of inſurrection; the firſt riſing was in Kent, which, however, was quickly ſuppreſſed.

The ſeverity with which theſe inſurgents were puniſhed, and the general miſery which was then felt, cauſed another inſurrection, A. D. 1450, of which John Cade was the leader.

This man appears to have poſſeſſed great talents, much coolneſs in council, and much courage in action; but this inſurrection, which aimed at the benefit

nefit of the commons of England, was ill conducted, and ended without accompliſhing any valuable purpoſe.

This was another conſequence of the wars againſt France, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee many more, and much more dreadful; for the miſery of the people prepared them for any thing, and ambitious individuals were not wanting to ſtir their blood.

In the mean time the French arms on the continent were every where ſucceſsful, and the laſt place held by the Engliſh fell into the hands of the French A. D. 1451.

Thus, in a few years, were not only all Henry the Fifth's conqueſts in France *loſt*, but *alſo all the hereditary dominions of the Engliſh upon the continent**.

The duke of York now, taking advantage of the popular diſcontents, aſpired to the crown; and, after various unſucceſsful attempts, his party gained a complete victory over the king, and got him into their hands, A. D. 1460. The duke was at this moment in Ireland.

The duke of York claimed the crown as a deſcendant of Lionel, duke of Clarence, elder brother of John of Gaunt, from whom Henry was deſcended.

The claim of the duke of York was certainly better founded in hereditary right; but what had the

* Henry's Hiſt. Brit. vol. ix. p. 144.

people to do with this? Was it of any importance to *them*, whether they were to be conſidered as an hereditament or *hereditary eſtate*, or whether they were to be governed by virtue of forcible poſſeſſion, on which all ancient hereditary right was firſt founded? Yet this diſpute, ſo trifling to the people, ſo inſulting to every rational nature, was the pretence on which the kingdom was torn to pieces for half a century.

But the contending princes were right, they conſidered the people as *a herd of cattle*, worth the purchaſe of much labour, becauſe able to reward it.

The king and the duke of York agreed upon terms of accommodation, by which the king was to reign during life, and the duke to ſucceed him; but in a few months the queen raiſed an army, and the duke of York, and many of his beſt friends, were ſlain in battle, or murdered afterwards in cold blood.

In the courſe of three months many great battles were fought, and the crown appeared to be twice or thrice won and loſt in this ſhort period. Edward, the young duke of York, however, at laſt ſo far triumphed, as to procure the depoſition of Henry, and himſelf to be crowned king of England by the name of Edward IV. A. D. 1461.

Thus the diſtreſs brought upon the country in carrying the ambitious projects of Henry the Fifth into execution, involved his ſon in continual miſfortunes,

fortunes, and ended in the ruin of his houſe, as well as the deſolation of the kingdom.

Edward the Fourth was only nineteen years old when he ſeized the crown of England; and no ſooner did he find himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, than he attempted to ſecure it by force of arms. He marched immediately to fight the Lancaſtrians, and met them at Towton in Yorkſhire, where one of the moſt bloody and deſperate battles were fought that ſtain the annals of this country. The young king ordered, before the action, that his ſoldiers ſhould give no quarter, but put all the enemy to the ſword. The Yorkiſts were victorious, and *thirty-eight thouſand* dead bodies were found on the field; amongſt whom were many of the principal nobility.

Edward, in the greenneſs of youth, had learned all the ferocity of power; and, not yet ſatiated with blood, after this dreadful battle proceeded to make the ſcaffolds ſtream.

Perhaps no armies ever met each other with more fierceneſs and vengeance than thoſe which fought in the cauſe of York and Lancaſter, in this diſpute for the crown. It is humbling to the pride of man to obſerve his ignorance. A king *actually on the throne* has always the beſt title when he governs well; becauſe the tranquillity of a *ſettled government* is always deſirable, when it is not the tranquillity of tyranny. To the people the title of Henry was as good as the title of Edward; and, if he governed them with equal mildneſs,

mildneſs, it was much better, on account of his poſſeſſion. It is true that the anceſtor of Henry was an uſurper, and, going a little farther back, it is equally true that the anceſtor of Edward was an uſurper alſo; Edward had loſt an inheritance as his anceſtors had obtained it.

After all, who gave either to the one or to the other an *hereditary right* to rule? God alone poſſeſſed the power of ſuch a grant, and he had not given it. If *hereditary ſucceſſion* be a human contrivance to prevent change and ſecure peace, then was Henry's title the better of the two; and every reigning king has a good title whoſe government is equitable, for to dethrone him is to hazard the peace of the country.

However we view theſe wars, ſo cruel, ſo dreadfully bloody, cauſed by this moſt frivolous of all diſputes, in which the people had no ſhare at all, we muſt conſider them as the reproach of the age and country in which they took place.

So deſtructive was this war, even in the early ſtages of it, that after the victory of Towton, when Edward ſummoned a parliament, July 6, 1461, to meet at Weſtminſter, there remained in England only one duke, four earls, one viſcount, and twenty-nine barons, who were ſummoned on this occaſion *.

Margaret, queen of Henry the Sixth, exerted herſelf with infinite ability to retrieve the fallen fortunes

* Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. ii.

of her huſband; but the battle of Hexham, and the cruel executions which followed it, A. D. 1464, blaſted all her preſent proſpects of ſucceſs.

The next year Henry was betrayed and taken priſoner, and Edward diſgraced himſelf by treating his former king with unmanly inſult.

In the year 1469, there was a formidable inſurrection of the commons, conſiſting chiefly of farmers, in Yorkſhire. This aroſe from the officers of St. Leonard's, at York, violently exacting payments in corn ſo heavy, that they were intolerable, and inſulted nature roſe in its own defence.

Theſe inſurgents were joined by ſome of the Nevile family, who were enraged at the favour ſhewn to the Widvilles, the family of Edward's queen; the king having married Elizabeth Widville, widow of Sir John Grey, of Groby.

This jealouſy, which burned ſo furiouſly between the Neviles and the Widvilles, was attended with important conſequences. The quarrels of two private families ought certainly not to be thought worthy of the military movements of a whole kingdom, to which all ſuch diſagreements muſt be unimportant. But this period of our hiſtory abounds with wars cauſed by nothing more important than matters ſuch as theſe. The earl of Warwick, the head of the Nevile family, determined to revenge himſelf upon king Edward for the favour he had ſhewn to the family of his queen, and he had no other means of doing this than by attempting to lift Henry to the throne,

throne, a prince whom he had, in his misfortunes, treated with great indignity. He joined, therefore, the party of queen Margaret, whom he hated, negotiated a marriage between his daughter Ann and Edward, Prince of Wales, Henry's eldeſt ſon, and ſettled this condition, that if Edward died without iſſue, his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, ſhould ſucceed to the throne; himſelf being regent of the kingdom during the reign of Henry and the minority of Edward.

Theſe matters being ſettled, he landed in England at the head of a few troops brought from the continent, and was joined by ſo many of the Engliſh that he preſently found himſelf the commander of a formidable army.

Edward had made no preparation for the reception of ſuch an enemy, and finding the friends in whom he confided ready to deſert him, he was obliged to fly. He accordingly took ſhipping at Biſhop's Lynne, and landed in Friezeland, A. D. 1470, without ſufficient money to pay his paſſage! Such are the viciſſitudes to which the moſt elevated of mortals are liable. Edward's ferocious cruelty in proſperity ill prepared him for the meditations of ſolitude and adverſity.

Henry was now taken from the Tower, in which he had been long a priſoner, and he again mounted the throne. But the triumph of Henry was ſhort, for the next year Edward returned to England, and, having recovered London, once more lodged Henry in

the Tower. The battle of Barnet followed this event, in which the earl of Warwick was ſlain, and Edward obtained a complete victory.

Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales arriving at this fatal moment from the continent, raiſed an army; but were defeated at the battle of Tewkſbury, and, with almoſt all the diſtinguiſhed men of their party who were not ſlain, were taken priſoners.

The queen was ſent to the Tower. Edward ordered the Prince of Wales to be brought into his preſence. He aſked him how he dared to come into his kingdom in arms? "I came," replied the gallant youth firmly, "to recover my father's king-"dom." The royal monſter was ſo enraged by this reply, that he ſtruck the firſt blow at the prince, who was inſtantly murdered by his attendants in his preſence.

Immediately after this king Henry was murdered in the Tower. Such was the triumph of Edward the Fourth, and ſuch the price which he paid for the crown of England!

Speaking of the deciſive battle of Tewkſbury a good hiſtorian ſays, "This was the twelfth battle "that had been fought in the fatal quarrel between "the houſes of York and Lancaſter; and in theſe "battles and on the ſcaffold above ſixty princes of "the royal family, above one half of the nobles "and principal gentlemen, and above one hundred "thouſand of the common people loſt their lives."

Who, that conſiders the ridiculous cauſe of theſe dreadful

dreadful evils, can forbear from exclaiming with the poet*,

" He ſees with equal eye, as God of all,
" A hero periſh and a ſparrow fall?"

The trifling wars againſt France and Scotland, which were concluded almoſt as ſoon as they were begun, in the latter part of Edward's reign, are not worthy of record; being attended with no important conſequences.

Edward, having cut off moſt of his enemies, rioted out his life amidſt the ruins of his kingdom, and died, laden with the execrations of all good men, April 9, 1483, in the 41ſt year of his age, and the 23d of his tyrannical reign.

This king has been praiſed for his *piety* by the monks of Croyland. He might be *pious*, according to the common notions of that diſpoſition. Few will find any difficulty, however, if he were pious, in perceiving the difference between piety and virtue; for this man was the murderer of his brother Clarence, the murderer of his king and of the ſon of his king, the robber of his ſubjects, the deſolator of his kingdom, avaricious, voluptuous, and the greateſt debauchee of his age.

As his cruelty was without limits, ſo it was without remorſe. Was this a character of piety in the

* Pope.

15th century? That the blood which was ſhed in England in this century ſhould be ſhed by *Chriſtian princes and nobles* muſt ever be regarded with aſtoniſhment, and goes far to warrant one of theſe concluſions: either that chriſtianity is a religion which cannot influence, and conſequently which is not calculated for mankind; or that men at this time were ignorant of its moſt obvious and ſimple principles. And of what benefit can that religion be to mankind, of the moſt ſimple principles of which they may, with the book in their hand, be for ages ignorant?

Edward the Fifth, ſon of the late king, was not thirteen years old when his father died. He was never crowned, for his uncle, the duke of Gloceſter, being made protector during his minority, ſeized the crown, with the name of Richard the Third.

That he might the more eaſily ſeize the crown of England, Richard had foully murdered the lords Rivers, Grey, and Haſtings; but when his friend the earl of Buckingham, who had been the chief inſtrument of his elevation, conſpired againſt him, with many other noblemen and gentlemen, the conſpiracy was defeated by a terrible flood, October 1483. Are we to ſuppoſe that *Providence* interpoſed in behalf of the uſurper? The friends of Richard ſaid ſo, and his enemies denied it. Had the flood defeated the projects of Richard, his enemies would have ſeen *Providence* in the ſtorm, and his friends would have been blind to the viſion. In order to juſtify *Providence*, Richard

Richard publiſhed a proclamation, in which he repreſents his enemies as very great *ſinners*.

Richard did not long enjoy the crown he purchaſed at ſo high a price. His enemies fixed upon Henry, earl of Richmond, who was deſcended by his mother from one of the natural ſons of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, by Katharine Swineford, as a proper perſon to cruſh the tyrant, and, now that the ſons of Edward the Fourth were dead, to fill the throne.

There were, indeed, ſeveral princes on the continent legitimate deſcendants of John of Gaunt, but the earl of Richmond was upon the ſpot, and in all the vigour of manhood, and on theſe accounts he was thought moſt proper to head the inſurgents.

In ſuppreſſing the former inſurrection Richard had exhauſted his treaſury, and the benevolences he now extorted from his ſubjects alienated them from his intereſt.

Richmond invaded the kingdom, and the battle of Boſworth ended the life and reign of Richard, which laſt had not continued much more than two years.

It cannot be doubted that Richard was a murderer; we believe he was even the murderer of the young king and his brother, but this has been queſtioned *. It is not much praiſe to ſay that he was leſs cruel than Edward the Fourth, whoſe memory

* Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts. Hume's Notes, vol. iii. p. 459.

has not, however, been regarded with ſo much horror.

Henry the Seventh now took poſſeſſion of the throne. His title was very defective. Although he claimed the crown by the line of the houſe of Lancaſter, he was not the firſt in order, or even a legitimate deſcendant from John of Gaunt. He married, however, the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth, and thus having united the families of York and Lancaſter, it was hoped all wars, on account of the quarrels between theſe families would for ever ceaſe. But this hope was not ſtrictly realized. Henry, entertaining an invincible hatred to the houſe of York, would neither ſubmit to derive his title to the crown from his wife, nor did he ſuffer her to be crowned before ſhe had brought him a ſon, or treat her with the tenderneſs to which ſhe was entitled. He alſo kept the young earl of Warwick, the next repreſentative after the daughters of Edward the Fourth of the houſe of York, in cloſe confinement. Theſe circumſtances, added to the general neglect with which they were treated, highly exaſperated the adherents of the houſe of York, and prepared them to loſe no opportunity of dethroning the king.

An odd occurrence, perhaps the reſult of their own contrivance, at length offered them this opportunity; but indeed with ſo little proſpect of ſucceſs, that their enterpriſe appears rather the effect of a too anxious zeal, than of calculation or wiſdom.

Lambert

Lambert Simnel was the ſon of a baker, and only fifteen years old. This youth was inſtructed by Simon, a prieſt, to perſonate the earl of Warwick, and to alledge that he had juſt eſcaped from the hands of the tyrant. He flew to Ireland, opened his commiſſion, and the nobles of that country, not able to diſcover his plebeian origin, declared in his favour, and drew all the kingdom into his intereſt *.

He afterwards invaded England, but his army was defeated, and himſelf and his inſtructor made priſoners at the battle of Stoke, June 6, 1487. So inveterate were ſtill the factions of York and Lancaſter in this country!

No important conſequences followed this inſurrection; but the king converted it into a mean of gratifying his avarice, by impoſing heavy fines upon ſuch as were implicated in the meaſure.

In 1491 Henry raiſed money for the invaſion of France; he was mortified, and thought the ſecurity of England endangered by the annexation of Brittany to France, which had juſt taken place, and he announced his intention of claiming the crown of France as a *right* derived from his anceſtors, and he actually ſailed at the head of an army to enforce this claim on the following year.

Neither his fears, however, reſpecting the condition of Brittany, nor his ambition to mount the

* Polyd. Virg. p. 570, &c.

throne

throne of France, were a match for his avarice; and having drawn money from his ſubjects, and thus made a flouriſh on the continent, he inſtantly made peace with France, and came home to count his gold and enjoy himſelf.

The avarice of Henry made his reign unpopular, and one impoſtor, not unattended with ſucceſs, paved the way for another.

Perkin Warbec, a young man of an itinerant life, took upon himſelf the name and character of Richard, duke of York, ſon to Edward the Fourth.

Although foreign courts gave a faſhion and currency to the pretenſions of this man, he was never able to produce any great effect in England, and at laſt he was hanged at Tyburn.

The only important conſequence of this impoſtor was, that as it gave occaſion to the people to ſhew their attachment to the houſe of York, ſo it induced Henry to murder the earl of Warwick, whom he had all along kept in priſon, and who was the only male ſurvivor of that houſe.

Henry, after having accumulated immenſe treaſures by the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, finding death approaching, ſatisfied his conſcience, by leaving money to the church and to the poor, and by a general clauſe in his will, in which he ordered reſtitution to be made to ſuch as he had injured.

He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

Though Henry merits the character of a tyrant, his reign was more happy than that of many of his predeceſſors, on account of his averſion from war, and his having been the means of ending the quarrel between the two Roſes.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY the eighth ſucceeded his father, A. D. 1509; and as the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, ended in him, who united the claims of both, in his own perſon, he had the cheering proſpect before him of becoming a bleſſing to his ſubjects, an encourager of ſcience, and a prince of peace. Such, however, was the fatal philoſophy of theſe times, that no prince was deemed great, who was not a man of war, as if the ſcience of governing mankind conſiſted rather *in deſtroying* than *in protecting* them.

Lewis, king of France, was, A. D. 1511, engaged in a war againſt pope Julius; and Ferdinand of Arragon, Henry's father-in-law, whoſe real deſign was to ſeize for himſelf the kingdom of Navarre, availed himſelf of the youth and inexperience of the king of England, and urged him, by all the ſacred duties of religion, not to ſuffer the catholic faith to be inſulted, and the pope attacked with impunity *.

Henry, by the ſtudious habits of his early youth, had been induced to attend to religious controverſy,

* Hume, vol. iii. p. 418.

and

and thus, all on fire to promote the glory of God, and to defend the true catholic faith, now evidently in danger, made war upon the king of France.

In this pious croiſade Henry had to boaſt of ſome advantages over *his* enemy, and the enemy of God; but the plans of Ferdinand were by and by diſcovered to be formed by *the mere wiſdom of this world*, and, after exhauſting the rich coffers of his father, and impoſing burthens on his ſubjects, it is well obſerved by Rapin, that Henry concluded a treaty of peace, in which neither religion, pope, nor church, have the honour even to be named *.

Thus Henry began his military career, as the *defender of the faith*, a title which he afterwards received for his literary labours in the catholic cauſe, a cauſe which he more injured by his conduct, than benefited by his zeal.

But the worſt conſequence of this war was not that the *church in danger* had received no ſuccour, but that it cauſed a war with Scotland, ariſing from the jealouſy of that nation, reſpecting Henry's invaſion of the country of its ally †.

The conſequence of this war with Scotland was the fatal battle of Flouden, in which the king of that country was ſlain and his army defeated.

After this battle Henry agreed to terms of peace which do honour to his character, and Margaret,

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 100. † Hume, vol. iii. p. 426.

his

his ſiſter, and her ſon, had reaſon to rejoice in the moderation and juſtice of their powerful relation.

If it be inquired what advantage England obtained by theſe wars, it may be anſwered with juſtice, that money was ſpent and men were ſlain; and this is the whole account of the buſineſs; and Henry had to weigh in his mind the comparative advantages he had himſelf obtained in receiving the character of a warrior, and that of a dupe to his father-in-law.

In the year 1519, Charles, king of Spain, was choſen emperor of Germany; and ſo extenſive were his dominions, that, if ever the balance of power ought to have weighed with princes, it was the intereſt of the king of England to have formed an alliance with the king of France, in order to prevent the incroachments of Charles. But Henry was more ſkilled in Thomas Aquinas than in the true politics of nations; and, devoted to his theology, to his pleaſures, and his favourite, he ſuffered himſelf to declare war, A. D. 1522, againſt France, and to join the intereſts of Charles.

The reaſon of this conduct is to be found in the hopes and ambition of Wolſey.

The emperor Charles promiſed to ſecond, with all his intereſt, the pretenſions of Wolſey to the papal chair; and to ſecure this intereſt in his favour, Wolſey agreed to ſeduce Henry from his connexion with France, and to bring him over to the ſide of the emperor. This was ſo obviouſly the reaſon of Henry's

Henry's conduct, that he found it impoſſible to lay hold of a pretext for war which was not palpably falſe and abſurd. He alleged that he made war upon France becauſe Francis, the French king, would not ſubmit to his arbitration of matters in diſpute between him and Charles, and becauſe he had ſent Albany into Scotland.

The firſt reaſon was ridiculous, the laſt falſe; for Albany was not ſent into Scotland until Francis had aſcertained completely the hoſtile intentions of Henry.

Henry had no ſooner invaded France than Scotland, its faithful ally, made war upon England; and thus were the flames of war kindled in four powerful kingdoms to gratify the ambition of a prieſt and an emperor.

The meaſures in which the king was now engaged brought upon him the ſevere preſſure of want. Seven years had elapſed ſince he had called a parliament, for to obtain money by means of parliament was neither the diſpoſition of Henry nor of his miniſter the cardinal. He commanded the people to be numbered, and an exact account to be taken of their circumſtances, which he demanded from each individual upon oath. He now publiſhed an edict for a tax upon the people, of five ſhillings in the pound on the clergy, and two on the laity. This attack upon the liberties of the people neither the parliament nor the convocation, which were ſummoned ſoon afterwards, to their eternal reproach, made

made matter of complaint; but the king's demands of money were greater than the parliament thought it prudent to comply with. The king, in contempt of the votes of the parliament, levied in *one year*, upon all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him to be paid in *four years*. Thus did the neceſſity created by war ſerve as a pretext for invading the rights of the people!

A new agreement took place between the emperor and Henry, A. D. 1524; and they now agreed to invade France, and to divide that country between them *.

At the battle of Pavia the army of the king of France was defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner.

The king of England had reaſon to rejoice at this event, if he had engaged wiſely in the war; but he at length perceived that he was waſting the money and the lives of his ſubjects in a cauſe in which *ſucceſs would be ruin to himſelf*, by giving Charles a power which might inſtantly cruſh him. Whether the tardy ſagacity of Henry had at length diſcovered his error, or the diſappointed ambition of Wolſey (who had ſeen two popes in ſucceſſion choſen, and himſelf neglected, ſince the plighted faith of Charles in his favour) now dictated to him an oppoſite conduct, it is not eaſy to determine; but the Engliſh king broke off his connexion with the emperor, and formed an alliance with the king of France.

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 128.

Thus

Thus ended, on the part of Henry, the war with France, which was undertaken to ſerve the private intereſts of Wolſey, but which was only ſerviceable in leſſening the conſequence of the king of England in Europe, waſting the lives and the money of Engliſhmen, and affording a pretext for eſtabliſhing new precedents of illegal exerciſes of the kingly prerogative in raiſing ſupplies. Henry, on the concluſion of an alliance with France, obtained ſome trifling payments of money, but not one year's intereſt of the caſh he had expended in a war, which exhibited him as the dupe of a prieſt, to the deriſion of Europe.

The king of England had no ſooner entered into an alliance with France than he expected he ſhould be involved, as a conſequence of that alliance, in a war with the emperor. Thus he, who might have held the balance in his hands and dictated peace to Europe, by undertaking one abſurd war, deprived himſelf of his former influence, and was now to prepare for another, only becauſe he had undertaken the former, which he found it his intereſt to abandon!

To prepare for a war with the emperor money was neceſſary, but his treaſury was exhauſted, and the laſt parliament had ſhewn itſelf reluctant to comply with his demands. He was determined to exerciſe his prerogative, and to ſet his parliament at defiance. He iſſued commiſſions for levying four

ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three ſhillings and fourpence upon the laity.

When theſe commiſſions were iſſued the king heard with ſurpriſe the murmurs of the people, and ſaw with aſtoniſhment that they put themſelves in an attitude of defence. A general reſiſtance and rebellion were expected; for the policy of Henry's wars was ridiculed, and the ambition of Wolſey was execrated *.

Henry was ſtruck with the aſpect of affairs, and now diſavowed the commiſſions, and declared he would not force his ſubjects to give him money, but ſolicit them to grant him it by way of benevolence. But the ſpirit of oppoſition was not to be ſubdued by ſuch an artifice. It was alledged that, in the reign of Richard the Third, benevolences were aboliſhed. But Henry replied, that the laws paſſed in the reign of that uſurper were not binding upon him, who was an *abſolute monarch* by hereditary right, and who needed no favour from the people †. The people again ſaw that the neceſſities created by war were driving the king to rob them of all their rights and privileges. They were not willing to yield a tame ſubmiſſion, and in many places, eſpecially in Suffolk, an inſurrection was begun. But this inſurrection was ſoon ſuppreſſed; yet it is no ſlight proof of the general diſpoſition of the people

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 136. † Hall.

to

to favour the inſurgents, that this tyrant dared not to puniſh ſuch as were convicted of rebellion.

The combination now formed againſt Charles reſiſted his encroachments, and the war with the Low Countries, A. D. 1528, being found to be attended with the loſs of trade between the Netherlands and England, ſo eſſential to the comfort of both, an agreement was made to continue the commerce between the ſtates even during the war.

In the ſummer of 1529 a general peace was eſtabliſhed in Europe, by which Henry obtained ſimply the advantage of being delivered from a war in which he had been involved, in the purſuit of no intereſt private or public, except the gratification of Wolſey's pride be thought an object worthy the military movements of a mighty nation.

The rapacious freedom of Henry in ſeizing the property of the monks and clergy, threw the whole kingdom into convulſions, and a formidable inſurrection took place in the year 1536.

No great deſtruction, indeed, attended the ſuppreſſion of this inſurrection, except the executions which followed it, ſo that it ſeems not to claim attention in a work devoted to the inveſtigation of the cauſes and conſequences of our wars. A recent example in another country may however plead an apology for making a remark upon Henry's ſeizure of the eccleſiaſtical revenues.

It muſt be admitted that the riches of every national eſtabliſhment belongs to the nation, and may

by the nation be appropriated to other uſes than thoſe to which they were firſt devoted; but it ought never to be forgotten that all *right of property* is founded upon human contrivance to ſecure the intereſts of humanity, and this being admitted, it will follow that when a nation wiſhes to reſume its rights of diſpoſal over the property already ſet apart for a ſpecial purpoſe, it is previouſly bound, by the *firſt rights of humanity*, to make an adequate proviſion for the individuals diſpoſſeſſed. We mean this obſervation as a cenſure, not only upon the tyranny of Henry, but upon the more recent tyranny of the French nation. Let the rights of humanity be aſſerted, whoever be accuſed; and if prieſts have been the oppreſſors of mankind, let philoſophy never conſent to wear "a blood-ſtained veſt!!"

Henry, having thrown off the authority of the pope, and ſeized the eccleſiaſtical revenues, became a zealot in the cauſe, and wiſhed to induce others to follow his example. He was ſtill a catholic, but no leſs than the pope himſelf; for he had been declared *the head of the church of England.*

He attempted, in the firſt place, to make his nephew James, king of Scotland, a proſelyte, and invited him to meet him at York to complete his converſion. To this propoſal the Scottiſh king aſſented; but was afterwards induced, by the repreſentations of the eccleſiaſtics, to decline it. Henry actually went to York, and, diſappointed on receiving the excuſes of James, he returned to London

don breathing nothing but vengeance and war againſt his nephew for thus daring to put him to the trouble of a journey, and then neglect to attend his appointment.

The war which Henry now determined upon was not indeed inſtantly commenced, for he was preſently involved in a war with Catherine Howard, his then wife, and until he brought her to her grave, he ſuſpended the execution of his plans againſt Scotland.

Henry having triumphed over his queen, now determined to be revenged upon the king of Scots, who had had the temerity to cauſe him a journey to York, and to refuſe his offers of advice and inſtruction.

It was certainly fitting that thouſands ſhould periſh in ſo important a quarrel; and he who never ſcrupled to ſhed the blood of his wives, could not be expected to think his ſubjects too precious an offering to offended majeſty.

This was the real ground of the quarrel, to revenge which England and Scotland were in motion *.

Henry, indeed, ſet up other pleas, and eſpecially he claimed the ſovereignty of Scotland, and ſummoned James, his nephew, to do homage to him as his liege lord. This title he derived from Edward the Firſt, in the ſupport of which thouſands had already bled.

* Buchan. lib. 14.

This war was begun A. D. 1542; and the Scots ſuffered a defeat in November, at Solway, which James (conceiving himſelf deſerted by his nobility) took ſo much to heart, that in a little time he died, leaving an infant daughter the heir to his crown.

To ſupport its independence againſt the power of Henry, the kingdom of Scotland now applied for ſuccour to the king of France, its faithful ally. This involved the wife-killing king in more extenſive warfare, and the journey to York was the cauſe of the military movements of almoſt all Europe; for Henry, as Scotland availed itſelf of the French alliance, united himſelf again with Charles, the emperor of Germany.

It was the early policy of Henry to impoſe taxes without a parliament, but he afterwards found that it was more ſafe and eaſy to aſſemble a parliament when he wanted ſupplies, and to render them, by proper management, entirely ſubſervient to his will. He tried the experiment and ſucceeded; for he found at all times, in the latter part of his reign, parliament ready to ſurrender any right of the people, and paſs whatever law he pleaſed.

To obtain ſupplies for the proſecution of this *juſt and neceſſary war* againſt Scotland and France, Henry aſſembled a parliament January 22, A. D. 1543. The parliament granted him a heavy ſubſidy, equal to three ſhillings in the pound; the convocation was equally liberal.

Henry

Henry was not the laſt king of England who exerciſed his tyranny over the people through the means of a corrupt parliament.

Henry, after ſqueezing his ſubjects and debaſing the coin, made a campaign in France at an immenſe expence, but to no valuable purpoſe; he was even deſerted by his ally the emperor, who made with Francis a ſeparate peace.

On June 7, 1546, a treaty of peace was concluded between England, Scotland, and France, by which Henry was permitted to retain Boulogne until the former debt due to him by the king of France was paid. "Thus," ſays an acute hiſtorian, "all "that Henry obtained by a war which coſt him "above one million three hundred and forty thou- "ſand pounds ſterling, was a bad and a chargeable "ſecurity for a debt which was not a third of the "value *."

Such were the expences of Henry's journey to York paid by the poor people of England. It may be truly added, that the enormous expences of Henry's reign entailed upon his kingdom incalculable miſeries, and imbittered the ſhort reign of his ſon by conſtant murmurs and inſurrections.

Henry died A. D. 1547, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after having oppreſſed his ſubjects near 38 years.

He was an atrocious and bloody tyrant. To

* Hume.

extenſive political views he had no pretenſions; his conduct was in general in oppoſition to his true intereſt. His appetites prompted him to moſt diſgraceful outrages. The huſband of ſix wives: he divorced two, only becauſe they were not agreeable to him; on the moſt frivolous pretences murdered one; one died in child-bed; another was put to death for adultery, and yet he pretended that his marriage with her was not lawful, and if ſo, ſhe could not commit adultery, and was conſequently murdered; and the laſt, who ſurvived him, he would have delivered to the executioner, if ſhe had not flattered his vanity by a well-timed artifice. The ſpoiler of the church, yet ſuperſtitious; he left money for prayers to be offered up for his ſoul in purgatory. The oppreſſor of his ſubjects; he waged unlawful war, and raiſed money by unlawful means. The murderer, as well of his friends as of his wives; few were admitted to his confidence who did not periſh on the ſcaffold. It has been ſaid that vice and ſuperſtition are natural allies; they were found united in the character of Henry. It is certainly to be expected, that whatever teaches man another will of God, than the good of his offſpring, would promote cruelty, and every vice injurious to mankind. When this execrable tyrant was dying, Cranmer demanded of him a ſign that *he died in the faith of Chriſt*; a proof this, no ways equivocal, that the religion and the morals of the king and the prieſt were alike.

When

When Henry was dying he had recommended it to his executors to attempt, by every means in their power, to bring about a marriage with his ſon Edward and Mary, the young queen of Scots, and thus to unite the two kingdoms.

In order to accompliſh this purpoſe the protector made war upon Scotland, and publiſhed a long manifeſto, ſtating the advantages that this match would be to both kingdoms *.

By this time it will be difficult to ſurpriſe the reader by a relation of any cauſe of war, thoſe which have paſſed under our review being ſo frivolous and ridiculous; but that one kingdom ſhould make war upon another to bring about a marriage may yet be thought remarkable. Agreeably to this obſervation, Lord Huntley then obſerved, that "he diſliked "not the match, but he hated the manner of "wooing."

Before the end of this ſtrange war with Scotland, England was a ſcene of confuſion. Henry the Eighth had, by his expence, reduced himſelf to want, and had, as an expedient for relief, debaſed the coin. The protector's *war of courtſhip* had ſo impoveriſhed him, that he carried this abuſe to a ſtill greater extent. Good ſpecie was then hoarded, bad money was coined or imported, and the commons, who received their wages in it, could not obtain the neceſſaries of life, a ſtagnation of commerce took place,

* Hume, vol. iv.

and

and inſurrection cloſed the ſcene. Our anceſtors had not yet diſcovered that great remedy for all evils—*a paper circulation.*

The riſings began in ſeveral places at once, as if the commons of England had planned a general revolt.

Much blood was ſhed in theſe commotions, but they were at length ſettled without any other important conſequences attending them.

Theſe domeſtic diſtractions, indeed, gave an advantage to the Scots, who were joined by their ally the king of France, and the protector now found it neceſſary to ſolicit the alliance of the emperor, A. D. 1549, in the proſecution of the war of courtſhip.

In 1550 peace was concluded between England, Scotland, and France; by which the Engliſh ſurrendered Boulogne, upon receiving a trifling acknowledgment in money, and renounced the debt due from France, and the pretenſions of their prince to Mary, the young queen of Scots. Thus ended king Henry's ſcheme of compulſive marriage; a ſcheme more ſuited to the genius of Henry than to that of his ſon, who had not yet learned either how to ſubdue or to murder the fair.

Edward had no queen; he died in the 16th year of his age, after changing the order of ſucceſſion through the influence of the duke of Northumberland, and appointing to be his ſucceſſor, Lady Jane Gray.

The people of England did not think Mary, the eldeſt

eldeſt daughter of Henry, illegitimate, and the pretenſions of Lady Jane Gray found no ſupport. The duke of Northumberland atoned for his ambition by dying by the hand of the executioner.

No ſooner was Mary proclaimed queen than ſhe thought of marriage. And after having thought of various perſons, ſhe at laſt fixed upon Philip, the ſon of the emperor Charles.

The proteſtant religion had by this time found ſo many patrons, that the connexion with Philip, a foreign prince, who was likely to reduce this kingdom into a province; and a bigoted papiſt, who was likely to perſecute without mercy all thoſe who would not conform to the ancient religion; gave birth to an inſurrection, A. D. 1554, which might have been fatal to the queen's authority, if the plan of it had been more matured, and if the leaders had not acted with precipitation and violence.

Ill conducted and ill ſupported, it was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and four hundred perſons were executed as traitors who either had, or who were ſuppoſed to have, taken part with the inſurgents; amongſt whom, though innocent of every charge of conſpiracy and co-operation, was Lady Jane Gray.

A war raged between France and Spain, and Philip, the huſband of Mary, having now ſucceeded to the dominions of his father the emperor Charles, uſed every effort to involve England in hoſtilities with France. The council of Mary long reſiſted this

this propoſition, to the great diſturbance and vexation of the queen.

A plot was indeed formed at laſt, and the king of France was accuſed of aſſiſting one Stafford to ſurpriſe Scarborough. By this artifice Mary overcame her council; and for the gratification of Philip, without any poſſible intereſt or advantage, it was determined that England ſhould declare war againſt France, A. D. 1557 *.

The finances of the kingdom were at this time in great diſorder; but the queen, determined excluſively upon the gratification of her huſband, ſeized by violence what ſhe could not obtain by law. The city of London was obliged to ſupply her with ſixty thouſand pounds, more than a ſixth part of the amount of the whole revenue of England at that time; ſhe forced loans from many ſubjects; and to victual her fleet, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find, and paid nothing for it. Leſt this violence ſhould be reſiſted ſhe threw many conſiderable men into the Tower, who were ſeized in the night, or hoodwinked by thoſe who conducted them to priſon †.

In this unfortunate war, begun without reaſon and ſupported through means of the violation of every privilege of the Engliſh people, Calais was retaken by the French; a place which the Engliſh had poſſeſſed two hundred years, and now the only

* Melv. Mem. † Stryp. Ecc. Mem. vol. iii.

remaining

remaining advantage obtained over France by the ſplendid victories of Edward the Third.

Soon after this event, A. D. 1558, the queen died, and left the French war to her ſiſter and ſucceſſor. Of Mary it is ſufficient to ſay that her talents were mean and her diſpoſition was cruel; ſhe was herſelf wretched, and to render others unhappy appears to have been her greateſt pleaſure.

Her thoughts were chiefly engaged about religion and love. Her huſband ſlighted her, and ſhe revenged herſelf upon her ſubjects; religion refuſed her comfort, and ſhe relieved her uneaſineſs by the burning of heretics; a cruel paſtime, and much diſliked by the proteſtants.

Elizabeth, immediately after ſhe was crowned queen of England, concluded a peace with France, A. D. 1559; in which it was agreed that Calais ſhould be reſtored to England in eight years, provided no act of hoſtility was committed either againſt France or Scotland during that period.

Scarcely was this treaty ſigned before Francis the Second, now king of France, in right of his wife Mary queen of Scots, aſſumed the royal title and arms of England. Elizabeth, with all the deciſion of a great mind, ſent inſtantly an army into Scotland, and forced the French king to abandon, by a treaty, his pretenſions to the crown of England, and make conceſſions equally honourable to Elizabeth and humiliating to himſelf.

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, after this, aſſiſted the Huguenots, *in order to weaken the power of her foreign enemies*, with whom her country was ſurrounded; but this war, in its principle at that time eſteemed juſt, was attended with no conſequences to England worthy of his notice who is anxious to inſtruct the preſent generation by the errors of former generations.

Philip, king of Spain, always diſcovered the moſt rooted enmity to his ſiſter-in-law Elizabeth, after ſhe refuſed to become his bride. He had been diſappointed in his connexions with this country, and he waited with anxiety for that revenge which was ſo congenial to his ſavage and malignant mind. His ambaſſadors always favoured every faction and every plot formed to diſturb her reign; but ſuch was the cautious wiſdom of Elizabeth, that until 1584 ſhe avoided hoſtilities with Spain. The intrigues of Philip againſt the queen's government now became ſo manifeſt and alarming*, and the diſpoſition of Spain to quarrel with England was ſo evident, that Elizabeth, concluding war to be inevitable, loſt not a moment, but commenced hoſtilities with deciſion and energy. The ferocious genius of Philip, the enemy of every thing which ought to be dear to man, liberty, toleration, learning, law, gave to the queen and to England ſufficient cauſe of fear; and little regarded as were the commons at this time, even

* Camden.

by

by the enlightened queen of this iſland, it was, perhaps, the intereſt of the loweſt and pooreſt of Engliſh ſubjects now to join the ſtandard of royalty, and to offer his body to form a rampart againſt the encroachments of the Spaniſh monſter.

In 1588 the Spaniſh Armada was defeated, and the queen thus ſucceſsfully carried on foreign war in the midſt of domeſtic factions. Continental plots were formed againſt her, the root of which was *religious prejudices*. Never will the world be delivered from this ſcourge, until it is the general faith, that the only acceptable ſervice of God is the promotion of human happineſs.

This was however a long war, and, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs with which it was conducted, ſo unnatural is a ſtate of war, that great evils were experienced as its conſequences. In the year 1595 a famine took place, occaſioned by the grain being ſent abroad to the armies; and this, as uſual, cauſed an inſurrection, in which many violences were committed, and the queen, in order to ſuppreſs theſe tumults, proceeded in a very illegal and ſummary way, executing the offenders without trial. Perſonal diſtreſs, and the invaſion of public liberty, are the uniform conſequences of ſevere or protracted war; and yet the people have often believed that they have an *intereſt* in wars! The cabals of Philip produced repeated inſurrections in Ireland during this war, which were fatal to thouſands, and which

occaſioned that neglected country to ſtand ſtill, if not indeed to move retrogradely, in the buſineſs of civilization.

Before the end of this war the two ſovereigns who conducted it died. Philip in 1598, and Elizabeth in 1603.

Philip, the brutal murderer of millions, is ſaid, dying, to have adviſed his ſon rather to truſt the nobles than the prieſts, "theſe new men, ſaid he, "are inſatiable." The reproach of this monſter were an honour to the clergy, if it were not known that his moſt ſanguinary meaſures received their approbation.

Elizabeth was a princeſs of high talents, and, although involved in a long war, it was rather occaſioned by the increaſing power and inſolence of the king of Spain, than by her own choice. Elizabeth had many faults; but they were not ſuch as diſqualified for government, or greatly injured her ſubjects. She, indeed, was arbitrary; but the people who had tolerated her father's maxims could not cenſure her.

James, king of Scotland, ſucceeded to the throne of Elizabeth, and thus were the two kingdoms, whoſe quarrels had occaſioned the ſhedding of ſo much blood, happily united without ſtrife and without confuſion.

James immediately entered into a treaty with the king of France, by which they agreed to ſupport the independnce of the Low Countries againſt Spain, and to aſſiſt each other, if either France or England ſhould

ſhould be attacked by Spain. This wiſe meaſure laid the foundation of much external quiet during the reign of this theological diſputatious monarch, who preferred the ſchool to the camp, and the chopping of logic to the din of arms.

In 1604 peace was concluded between England and Spain; and it is well obſerved by an acute hiſtorian *, "The nations (in the conferences which took place previous to the execution of this treaty) "were found to have ſo few claims on each other, "that, except on account of the ſupport given by "England to the Low Countries, the war might ap-"pear to have been continued more on account of "perſonal animoſity between Philip and Elizabeth, "than any contrariety of political intereſts between "their ſubjects."

The inhabitants of two countries, indeed, can rarely, if ever, have ſuch a contrariety of *intereſts* as to induce them to make war upon each other.

The true cauſe of war has ever been the exiſtence of a dignified claſs, who, diſpoſing of their inferiors as of their horſes and hounds, have purſued their game into other countries for *their own excluſive advantage*, and have made the wretched people, whoſe ignorance rendered them willing dupes, ſubſervient to their purpoſes of plunder and ambition.

The nobles, to complete the deluſion, and to ſecure the ſervices of the devoted *herd*, have called

* Hume, vol. vi. p. 27.

the prieſthood to their aid, who have induced the ſervant to obey his maſter when no earthly conſideration was ſufficiently powerful, by promiſing him the favour, or threatening him with the vengeance, of the King of heaven. What led the ſubjects of Philip to battle and to death? Had *they* any *intereſt* in the wars he proſecuted? Beaſts of the field, they obeyed the commands of their tyrant, becauſe they were taught that they were the will of God!!!

In 1619, the States of Bohemia, animated with a zeal for the new religion, attempted to throw off the catholic yoke, and offered their crown to the Elector Palatine, who was the ſon-in-law of the king of England. The young Palatine accepted their offer, and prepared to defend what he was glad to receive.

Where is the religion which has not been eſtabliſhed by ſlaughter? Strange, however, it can never ceaſe to be, that Chriſtianity, which aſcribes war to the baſeſt origin, and which prohibits it with a ſtrictneſs which has been thought even to forbid ſelf-defence, ſhould always have been conſidered as itſelf a juſt motive for war, and ſhould have been every where preached amidſt the thunder of battle and the cries of murder.

The Engliſh no ſooner heard that the elector Frederic had engaged to defend the proteſtant religion, than they were animated by the moſt lively enthuſiaſm, and panted with ardour to join the ar-

mies of the true faith. The peaceful king was alarmed by the zeal of his ſubjects; he hated war, and would have endeavoured to check the ambition of his ſon-in-law, if he had known his intention before he accepted a crown of ſtrife.

The elector had no ſooner accepted the crown of Bohemia than he was attacked, defeated, and even driven from the palatinate. James now ſaw, with ſorrow, his ſon-in-law in exile, and the people of England burning with indignation that their king ſhould ſuffer the cauſe of God to be trampled upon by the agents of the devil.

The king, ſtill hoping to effect by negotiation what he had neither inclination nor power to accompliſh by war, now determined to marry his ſon Charles to the infanta of Spain, and to make uſe of this alliance, when ſettled, to reſtore the elector to the palatinate.

Prince Charles, accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, made a voyage to Spain, ſaw the infanta, and was treated with every mark of attention which could be paid to a great monarch. When things went on thus favourably, Buckingham received ſome diſguſt in Spain, and abuſing the mind of the young prince to the infamous purpoſes of his own corrupt heart, he, on their return, ſo miſrepreſented, and ſo induced the prince to miſrepreſent, the conduct of the Spaniſh court, as to give the parliament an apprehenſion that the king of Spain was deceitful, and never intended to complete the mar-

riage. Conduct ſo ſcandalous and inſulting to the court of Spain could not fail to lead to bad conſequences, and in 1624 war was commenced, and an Engliſh army ſent to the continent.

A marriage was now concluded between Prince Charles and Henrietta of France; and France promiſed to aſſiſt James to proſecute the war commenced againſt Spain purely through the perſonal quarrels and antipathies of the execrable Buckingham. Before, however, any effectual aid was afforded to the Elector Palatine, and before any chaſtiſement was given to Spain, James died, having reigned in England 22 years.

James was not a monarch of great capacity, nor were his political maxims thoſe of a good king; but he was a *lover of peace*, and this diſpoſition made his reign leſs injurious to the people of England than thoſe of either Edward the Firſt or Henry the Fifth, however ſplendid their victories may appear, or however reſpectable were their talents.

Charles the Firſt ſucceeded to the throne of his father in no very flattering circumſtances, his treaſury exhauſted, his ſubjects divided into parties, his favourite Buckingham deteſted, his marriage unpopular, and involved in a war againſt the greateſt power in Europe.

Charles ſoon kept no bounds with the parliaments; but reſolving to do without them, he levied ſhip-money from his ſubjects, in order to equip a fleet to carry on the war againſt Spain with vigour and

effect. This meaſure, although a ſimilar one had been adopted by Elizabeth, met with a juſt reſiſtance from the enlightened wiſdom of ſome men of theſe times. Charles perſevered, fondly believing that the ſlaves of Henry the Eighth were ſtill the people of England, and that a king might ſtill be allowed to do any thing with impunity.

"Impunè quid libet facere, ideſt, regem eſſe."

But the people of England had learned to pronounce the word tyrant, and to know that the name of king altered not the nature of actions.

Charles, every way diſqualified for the ſcene in which he had to act, ſuffered himſelf yet to be governed by the violent and ignorant Buckingham; who, amidſt the evils with which he was now ſtruggling, involved him, in 1627, in a war with France. Buckingham had been ſent to the court of France to attend the nuptials of Henrietta and Charles when they were married by proxy, and being a man of good perſon and addreſs, he made advances to the French queen, and was not ill received. Anxious to diſplay his power over the queen, he prepared again to go to Paris; but Richelieu, jealous of him as a rival, deſpiſing him as a miniſter, and hating him as a man, when he was making preparations to go to France to ſee the queen, cauſed the king of France to ſend him a meſſage that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey. From this moment, and for this

cauſe, Buckingham was determined to engage England in a war againſt France *.

The prejudices and paſſions of Buckingham had already involved England in a war with the greateſt potentate of Europe; and now, to gratify this villain, another war was made; and his ignorant maſter, in the moment of domeſtic danger, was induced to brave the united power of Europe.

Buckingham was at the head of the expedition againſt France, which was now undertaken; but he returned home, his army ruined, and himſelf diſgraced, having had no better ſucceſs in the enterpriſe than he had reaſon for undertaking it.

The people of England at laſt grew extremely indignant. They ſaw the kingdom involved in a freſh war, their liberties invaded by illegal exactions for its ſupport, their property ſeized and themſelves impoveriſhed, their commerce deſtroyed, and their fame in arms blaſted, by a man who ruled the ſovereign and inſulted the country. A parliament was aſſembled, and, after all poſſible reſiſtance and equivocation of the king, he was obliged to aſſent to the celebrated petition of right, A. D. 1628.

In 1630 peace was concluded between England and both France and Spain. By the treaty England got nothing, neither terms for the Hugonots, nor for the Elector Palatine; but the neceſſity occa-

* Clarendon, vol. i.

ſioned

ſioned by theſe wars gave birth to meaſures of oppreſſion in the king, and reſiſtance in the people, of England, ſo important, that it will be ſome time before we ſhall ſee the full extent of their conſequences.

It were foreign to our purpoſe, and incompatible with the brevity of our narration, to detail with minute exactneſs the progreſs of diſcontent in the country in this reign.

In the early part of his reign the king merits the ſevereſt reprobation for his attempts to exalt prerogative at the expence of all liberty and law. The friends of freedom reſiſted this conduct, until the voice of the parliaments was heard, and the king was awed by the popular thunder.

It muſt, at the ſame time, be ſtated, that religion was a cauſe of bitter contention between the court and the people. In the year 1635 the eccleſiaſtical canons were promulgated, and the people ſaw with emotion a body of eccleſiaſtical laws eſtabliſhed by the ſimple authority of the king *.

Charles, by his own authority, now impoſed a liturgy on Scotland copied from the Engliſh. The Scots took fire at this exerciſe of power, and thinking that zeal for the King of heaven authorized rebellion againſt a mere earthly monarch, they inſulted the officiating clergy, united amongſt themſelves, produced the covenant, and broke out into open

* Clarendon.

acts of revolt and hoſtility. He who fondly dreams of the dignity of human nature, of the authority of reaſon, and the ſimple principles of an equal government, muſt not mix in the councils of the covenanters to ſtrengthen the ſweet impreſſions of his viſion. A fanaticiſm more outrageous, if poſſible, than the ſuperſtition it oppoſed, animated theſe godly enemies of popery; and the diſciples of Calvin and Knox, forgetful of the mild ſpirit of chriſtianity, which every ſect has celebrated and neglected, ruſhed to war, eager for ſlaughter and thirſty for blood.

Thus began the croiſade againſt arbitrary power in church and ſtate, which long agitated theſe kingdoms, and in its progreſs involved in one common ruin the thrones of biſhops and of kings.

Candour is obliged to confeſs, that the maxims which governed the conduct of Charles were thoſe which had governed that of his anceſtors; but times had now changed, and whatever judgment we form of the king as an ill educated and prejudiced man, nothing appears ſo ridiculous to a philoſophical mind as the rights of an individual, without any foundation or origin in nature, but eſtabliſhed by craft impoſing upon ignorance, being ſet up in oppoſition to the rights founded in nature and reaſon of a mighty nation. In this view Charles appears like a graſshopper pleading his excluſive rights to the productions of the field againſt the congregated millions of all living creatures.

As,

As, however, all government has yet been rather the reſult of accident than of a ſyſtem of juſt and well regulated wiſdom, poſterity, perhaps, has no reaſon to rejoice at the perſevering encroachments of the parliament, after they had ſo far humbled the king as to oblige him to paſs their act againſt tonnage and poundage. He then appears to reſign himſelf to their diſpoſal, and, if we are guided by contemporary hiſtory, we muſt allow that, about the year 1640, a proſpect was afforded this country of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of liberty without the effuſion of blood *.

The queſtion of reſiſtance is delicate and nice, eaſy in theory, in practice dangerous. We cannot exiſt without acting upon the lawfulneſs of ſelf-defence. What is ſelf-defence? It can mean nothing leſs than a defence of life and its comforts; for life is ſimply a *power* to ſuffer or enjoy, and of no value but as attended with enjoyment. He, therefore, acts in ſelf-defence who reſiſts a government which denies him enjoyment, by its own oppreſſion and monopoly. But having eſtabliſhed the juſtice of reſiſtance conſidered thus abſtractedly, we have done little.

It has been ſaid that a great ſtateſman † has made a diſtinction between reſiſtance as a queſtion of morals, and reſiſtance as a queſtion of prudence. The diſtinction is trifling and frivolous, for when-

* Clarendon, vol. i. † C. J. Fox.

ever

ever reſiſtance is prudent, it is moral. That only is prudent which is beneficial, and that is moral which is for the general good. Whenever reſiſtance, therefore, will promote the general good, it is at once prudent and moral, for they mean in this caſe the ſame thing. But when is reſiſtance prudent? Only when the general advantage of it is certain. As applied to the conteſt between Charles and the people of England, if, after the year 1640, it were poſſible to have dictated to the crown a ſyſtem of freedom without deſtroying it, the event has inſtructed us to ſay, morality and prudence forbade the deſtruction of the crown, for this *reform* would have been more for the general good.

The object, however, of this reſiſtance was great, and immediately affected the *intereſts* of the people; it was no longer who ſhould be their tyrant, but whether they ſhould be ſlaves or freemen. We venerate this principle even in its errors; but war is the laſt, and the leaſt likely means of effecting the public good, though, doubtleſs, ſometimes the *only* means which remain to an oppreſſed and inſulted people.

When we ſee men ruſh upon danger and death to determine whether Richard or Henry ſhall oppreſs them, we are filled with indignation, and tempted to deny them the character of rational beings; but when we ſee men hazarding life for their families and fire ſides, we admire the bravery and applaud the wiſdom of the heroes.

Religious

Religious war is in all caſes contemptible; becauſe it is a conteſt for that of which no tyranny can deprive us. "To worſhip God in ſpirit and in "truth" is the privilege of every good man; of him who lives in the buſy city, and of him who inhabits a deſert iſland. No tyranny can reach the hidden ſecrets of the heart, or intercept the thought as it approaches the divinity; nor has the religion of governors or people ever diſturbed men of ſenſe, but as it has been thought to favour, or to be aſſociated with, arbitrary maxims of civil rule.

A civil war for the purpoſe *of eſtabliſhing the liberties of the people*, and *protecting the proteſtant religion*, was begun, and the firſt battle fought in England, between the forces of the king and thoſe of the parliament, happened at Edgehill in the county of Warwick, October 23, 1642 *.

If the people of England had no other means of eſtabliſhing their liberty (for we muſt leave the ridiculous pretence of fighting for religion out of the queſtion), this was no doubt a juſt war; but if the liberties of the people could have been by any other means eſtabliſhed, it was unjuſt. We preſume not to ſettle this point; but we cannot but remark that we are now come to a war, the object of which was at leaſt more plauſible, and the conſequences of which were more important, than any preceding war recorded in the annals of this fighting country.

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 45, &c.

After

After ſhedding much blood, triumphing over the king, and holding him as their priſoner, the time came when the parliament alſo was humbled. Out of the confuſion of war aroſe a power more formidable than the parliament; and the people, after fighting for liberty, found themſelves enſlaved by a military government, A. D. 1647. So true is it, that what faction produces faction may deſtroy, and that liberty can only be eſtabliſhed where its principles have become the general regimen of a whole people.

In 1648 an opportunity offered for the execution of a treaty between the king and parliament, a meaſure now rendered neceſſary by the uſurpation of the army. But the golden moment paſſed away, and left the devoted country an eaſy prey to the daring ambition and villainous deſigns of Cromwell. When this treaty was in agitation the king was full of moderation; and if his terms had been agreed to, and the country had ſupported the king and the parliament thus united, it might have been ſaved from the anarchy which followed, and have flouriſhed under a ſyſtem of real freedom. But the army triumphed, the parliament was overawed, many of the members ſeized, and the king periſhed on the ſcaffold. And what good was obtained as the balance of ſo much evil? It cannot be affirmed that no advantage reſulted to ſociety *from this civil war*; but of the triumph of the army, and the deſtruction of both king and parliament, pure evil was the reſult.

The

The principles of freedom defended in the reign of Charles have been productive of much benefit ſince his time, and their force is not yet ſpent, but may, and we believe will, be long and powerfully felt; but the uſurpation of Cromwell, which was the conſequence of the triumph of the army and the deſtruction of the king and parliament, brought upon the country ſevere and laſting evils, amongſt which we may number, as of moſt importance, 1. A conviction that it is in vain for any people ever to reſiſt a tyrant, as the diſplacing of one only makes way for another. 2. A continuance of party animoſity, war, and murder, in the country; and 3. The reſtoration of Charles the Second, without ſuitable conditions and reſtrictions of power, previouſly impoſed by the people.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the king was put to death, and the government of England aſſumed the name of The Commonwealth, Ireland and Scotland, attached to their reſpective religious ſyſtems, and indignant at the tyranny of the new government, reſiſted in arms the uſurped authority. Cromwell, bold, deciſive, hypocritical, and of unbounded influence in the army and amongſt the fanatics, got himſelf appointed general in Ireland, which he ſoon reduced by the moſt dreadful cruelty to obedience. The town of Tredah witneſſed the utmoſt rage of this conquering ſaint. No quarter was here given, the garriſon was butchered, except a few, who were next day murdered in cold blood. One individual alone of the garriſon eſcaped to tell the dreadful news!

Cromwell now turned his arms againſt Scotland, who had invited the exiled prince to return, and who was now amongſt them. It was a ſingular phenomenon to obſerve two armies facing each other near Dunbar, equally fanatical, and guided (except their commanders, who had other views) by feelings they called religious to battle and to murder. The Iriſh

reſiſted

reſiſted the new government, from an attachment to the catholic faith and the principles of their ancient loyalty. The Scots covenanters fought againſt a parliament and an army of independents, whoſe maxims of *church diſcipline* they could not endure. They had made the young king *take the covenant*, and this was the ſchool in which he learned that contempt for religion which he never was able to ſhake off in after life. Nor was this wonderful. Charles was a man of ſenſe and underſtanding, and he ſaw with ſcorn the vile purpoſes to which the political fanatics abuſed the profeſſion of a religion, the maxims of which were inconſiſtent with all their conduct. He who does not diſdain all cant and hypocriſy, when he ſees it connected with avarice, ambition, and cruelty, ought himſelf to be held up to the indignation of mankind.

The covenanters *wreſtled with the Lord in prayer*, and receiving the aſſurance of the Spirit that victory awaited them; they ruſhed to battle with all the fury and vengeance of infernals. Holy Oliver waited his opportunity, and the battle of Dunbar decided the fate of the ſons of the covenant. The Lord declared for the independents, and Joſhua rejoiced in his victory.

Cromwell now wrote addreſſes to the vanquiſhed, and told them, that as they had left the Lord to ſettle on whoſe ſide he was by the fate of that day, they ought now to acknowledge his " marvellous

" diſ-

" diſpenſations," and join the army of Iſrael; for, added he, " if we know our heart at all, our bowels " do in Chriſt yearn after the godly in Scotland *." Such are all arguments reſpecting the *will of God* drawn from the *events of life*; for if any thing be obvious, this is, that God does not interrupt the courſe of nature in favour of what men call juſtice in this world.

If, after attentively obſerving the courſe of nature (which muſt be the undiſputed will of God), we collect that it is a ſyſtem calculated to promote and ſecure human happineſs, let us ſteadily purſue a plan to forward the deſigns of God in promoting human happineſs, which is the only ſecurity againſt fanaticiſm, and which will never lead us to battle to ſettle the theological diſputes between independents and preſbyterians, nor to determine what has divided churches, whether the ſacramental bread ought to be broken with the fingers or cut with a knife! The theological diſputes and murders of all ages and nations always call to our mind a verſe of Butler:

" They worſhipped a rat, and ſome,
" For this ſame faith, ſuffered martyrdom."

Such have been the ſuperſtition and folly of mankind!!

The commonwealth having ſubdued Ireland and Scotland, now ſought an occaſion to make war

* Thurloe.

upon

upon Holland, A. D. 1652. The new government conceived itſelf inſulted by the Dutch; but its hatred of that people was increaſed by the diſappointment it had experienced in not being able to form a permanent union with the united provinces, and by the rage of its ambaſſador, the rude and inſolent St. John, who had ſuffered many affronts on account of the conduct of his maſters.

But there has yet another *cauſe* been aſſigned for this war with Holland, which we believe to be the true reaſon for commencing hoſtilities with that republic. The parliament ſaw, in the triumph of the army, its own danger, and it wiſhed to increaſe the conſequence of the *navy* by a naval war; and by making a foreign enemy an object of attention, it wiſhed to draw the eyes of the country from its own uſurpations and the tyranny of its lengthened exiſtence.

When nations are determined to make war a pretence is never wanting; the parliament now framed the *Navigation Act*, a meaſure particularly prejudicial to the commerce of Holland, and fitted out a fleet, which ſoon met the Dutch fleet, and thus were hoſtilities commenced.

The conduct of the Engliſh navy in this war ſoon became a ſubject of admiration and praiſe, and the parliament, with the view of dividing authority with the army, took every occaſion to draw men's minds to the fleet. It even reſolved to reduce the army; but as ſoon as Cromwell underſtood this

 ſcheme,

ſcheme, he called a council of officers, haſtened to the parliament with a few armed men, diſperſed the members, locked the doors, and ſeized the government. Thus was the authority of one deſperate and courageous villain eſtabliſhed, to the confuſion of all men who looked for the reign of Chriſt, the ſaints, and equality.

When Cromwell broke up the parliament, he called one a whoremonger and another an adulterer: it ought not to be forgotten, that this is the very language which the murderous uſurper Richard the Third uſed to his enemies, and the enemies of his government.

After Cromwell was made protector he made peace with Holland; and ſo groundleſs had been the quarrel between the two countries, that no advantages, notwithſtanding their ſucceſs, could be obtained by the Engliſh in the treaty. We ſee here an example upon what ill-founded and trifling pretences republics (if England were now a republic) as well as monarchies waſte the treaſure and ſpill the blood of their citizens.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice Cromwell merits little cenſure; in the beginning of his power a proof was given of the importance of juries, which Engliſhmen ought never to forget, for Oliver could never make juries obedient to his views; they were an impregnable barrier againſt all injuſtice to the people.

As ſoon as Cromwell had made peace with Holland,

land, he made war upon Spain without provocation, contrary to treaty, and all the rights of humanity. He was a conqueror, and to gratify his perſonal ambition, to plunder, or to terrify other countries, were ſufficient motives for him to engage in any enterprize, and at any expence of blood.

In 1655 he ſent out a ſquadron and conquered Jamaica from Spain, before that court knew the deſtination of his fleet, or had learned that he meditated their injury. Thus the Engliſh ſaw themſelves again hurried to battle and to death to gratify the caprice of one man, who, from being their profeſſed friend and defender againſt tyranny, was become a more ſevere and execrable tyrant than any who had ſwayed the ſceptre of England ſince the eighth Henry.

In the proſecution of this moſt unjuſt and unneceſſary war the Engliſh were ſucceſsful, and Admiral Blake diſtinguiſhed himſelf, juſt before his death, by a gallant action. It is remarkable that Cromwell and Blake, the moſt diſtinguiſhed commanders of their time, were both advanced in life before they were acquainted with arms. Cromwell was more than forty, Blake more than fifty, years of age. Admiral Blake was an exalted character, of generous diſintereſtedneſs and principled courage. A republican rational and firm, he diſapproved of the uſurpation of the tyrant, and only ſerved againſt the enemies of his country becauſe he thought it right, whoever reigned, to ſerve his country.

"Non ſibi ſed toto genitum ſe credere mundo!"

And he never departed from that conviction. He was indeed the firſt ornament of his age and country; but we cannot forbear to lament, that before he fought the battles of his country he did not think it neceſſary to inquire, *whether its wars were juſt?* That he fought in this Spaniſh war, we think, a ſtain upon his character; for never will governors be juſt, or men moral, until the ſoldier and ſailor examine the *juſtice of their engagements.*

It is honourable to the age of which we are treating, that many officers really did reſign their commiſſions rather than ſerve in this deteſtable war. Surely the time will come when men will no longer cut throats for bread, and murder for hire!

Cromwell now formed an alliance with France, and, having become the terror of Europe as well as of his own country, he dreamed of extenſive conqueſts; but death put an end to his hopes and his tyranny, A. D. 1658.

It has often been debated, whether Cromwell was a fanatic or an hypocrite; as if both characters could not be united in one perſon. He was the fanatic and hypocrite united; and they are generally united in him who, beginning with fanaticiſm, enjoys a long life. The pretenſions of the fanatic are ſo much above humanity, that to ſuſtain them he becomes an hypocrite. Such was Cromwell. If we conſider the opportunity he had of eſtabliſhing liberty

berty in England, and that for the baſe purpoſe of gratifying his own ambition he let that opportunity ſlip; if we conſider his murder of Charles for attempting to govern without a parliament, and his own reſiſtance of parliamentary authority *before*, and the *whole period after*, he became protector; if we conſider his needleſs cruelty in Ireland, and his offenſive war againſt Spain, we need not heſitate to pronounce him one of the greateſt enemies mankind have ever known, and one of the moſt execrable tyrants that ever afflicted this country.

Fanaticiſm, as ſuperſtition, does not check, but rather fortifies immorality. It ſhews other means of pleaſing God than that of doing men ſervice, and whatever does this leads to human injury, by promiſing an atonement for it. Vulgar virtues, ſuch as honeſty and humanity, are rarely to be expected amongſt devotees and fanatics; they leave ſuch *beggarly elements* to men of leſs pretenſion.

Richard, the eldeſt ſon of Oliver, was proclaimed protector immediately after the death of his father; but the authority which every day grew too heavy for Cromwell, ſoon dropped from the hand of his ſon.

The elevation of Richard, however, ſerved to illuſtrate his character, and to ſhew him to be one of the beſt of mankind. He was adviſed to take off one of the leaders amongſt the ſeditious. "No," replied this wonderful man, "I will not purchaſe "authority at the price of one man's blood." Yet

this man is deſpiſed, and his ruffian father admired, and that too by the *chriſtian* world. But he who examines this religion, and the lives and maxims of thoſe who profeſs it, muſt conclude that chriſtianity was not made for man, or man was not made for chriſtianity.

In 1660, Charles the Second, by the parliament and the army, was called from exile, and ſtepped upon the vacant throne. Whatever were the diviſion of mind on this event in this unhappy country, it may be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that the people more heartily concurred in the reſtoration of monarchy, than they had done in the death of the former monarch. So diſtracted were the councils of the nation, and ſo violent and even-balanced were the parties that poſſeſſed or were contending for power, all entirely neglectful of the people, that ſome ſuch meaſure as that now adopted appeared to be neceſſary.

Thus the nation, through ignorance and faction, ſuffered many years of anarchy, and at laſt ended in eſtabliſhing the authority it had deſtroyed. So true is it, as we have before obſerved, that no reforms can ever be ſecured for any people, until the whole body poſſeſs previous and adequate information. He who is anxious for the intereſts of mankind will never ceaſe to lament, that Charles was received without the impoſition of ſuitable conditions, and that the nation was thus ſurrendered to his will. He muſt be a bold or a bad man, who, after ſuch

an example, is ready to throw off eſtabliſhed authority before public information gives promiſe of real and general advantage.

Good men are yet very liable to feel this confidence. They obſerve the wretched condition of mankind, they contemplate the bounty of nature, and, aſcribing the former to corrupt government, they are eager to deſtroy what they think deſtroys human comfort. We admire the generous feeling, we venerate the divine enthuſiaſm with which they are animated, we lament with them the miſery of mankind, we trace this miſery in part to corrupt and tyrannical governments; but ſuch is the ignorance of mankind, that we ſee no proſpect of emancipation, and are willing to bear much oppreſſion, rather than hazard an anarchy, which may long waſte the country and not heal the diſeaſes of ſociety.

The general good is the ſupreme law. If it were *certain* that this would be promoted, let kings be hurled from their thrones, and biſhops from their benches of preferment. But let us pauſe before the leaſt violence be offered to any order of men, and *aſcertain* the conſequence. To rob the rich, and not to benefit the poor, to ſeize the privileges of a few, and not to confer benefit on all, this is not the wiſh of any good man. Let us weigh well the danger, and never forget that that improvement alone is *certain* which is the effect of peaceful efforts and mild conceſſion. To riſe like a tiger upon a ſanguinary tyranny

is the duty of every man; but violence ſhould not be the firſt attempt of thoſe, who wiſh to tame an animal whoſe habits may have been wild, but whoſe nature is generous.

In 1664 it was determined to make war upon Holland; not becauſe that people had offended or injured the Engliſh by any act of aggreſſion, but becauſe the trade of Holland interfered with that of England, and the people of this iſland were determined to ſeize that by force which they could not obtain by the fair exertion of ingenuity and labour. We have had occaſion to narrate the wars of our kings and thoſe of our nobles, we are now to enter upon the wars of our merchants, wars not leſs deſtructive or more honourable than any others.

After it was reſolved to gratify the merchants by a Dutch war, ſome pretence was wanting as the oſtenſible cauſe of its commencement. The Engliſh were in great perplexity. They ſent their ambaſſador to Holland, who complained of depredations *prior to the laſt treaty* with that power, depredations which had never been mentioned in that treaty. So impudent are the allegations of injuſtice. Their complaints were anſwered. At a loſs for the diſcovery of new inſults, they cut all argument ſhort, by fitting out a fleet and commencing hoſtilities *.

This war againſt Holland drew in its train a war

* Hume, vol. vii. p. 399.

with

with two other powers: with France, which, as the ally of Holland, engaged againſt England; and with Denmark, which, being a naval power, joined the Dutch to reſiſt the Engliſh in attempting to ſeize the dominion of the ſeas, and a monopoly of trade.

The war with Spain, commenced by Cromwell, had ceaſed; but England ſtill held Jamaica, and had ſold Dunkirk to the French, both of which had been taken from that power. Charles attempted to form an alliance with the Spaniſh monarch; but a ſenſe of the injury done him induced the Spaniard to decline all connexion with England.

Whilſt England was exhauſting itſelf to carry on with vigour this unjuſt war, the plague broke out in London in 1665, to which more than 90,000 of its inhabitants fell miſerable victims.

Whilſt the Engliſh were engaged in ſucceſsful fight againſt the Dutch and French, the fire of London broke out in 1666, by which 400 ſtreets and 13,000 houſes were conſumed. This event was the effect of accident; and when the fire was once lighted the conflagration followed, as the conſequence of narrow ſtreets, wooden houſes, a dry ſeaſon, and a violent eaſt wind.

But bigotry had a purpoſe to ſerve, and the opportunity was not loſt. "The republicans have "done it," cried ſome; "The papiſts are the au-"thors of the miſchief," cried others. Bigotry prevailed, and on the monument an inſcription was placed, aſcribing this calamity to the papiſts. James

obliterated

obliterated this infamous inſcription—William reſtored it, and there it yet remains on the monument, which,

"Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies."

To what credit are the reports of bigotry and ſuperſtition, or enthuſiaſm, entitled? Let this circumſtance anſwer.

In 1667 an end was put to this deſtructive war by the peace of Breda, and the merchants of England had the mortification to find, that the end of the war put them into no better circumſtances than they were in at its commencement. The Engliſh ſpent many millions, and loſt many valuable men, and obtained nothing by the war but the conſciouſneſs of unjuſt deſign, and the mortification of diſappointed hopes.

The king, in 1671, reſolved upon another war with Holland. This was in conſequence of an alliance he had formed with France, equally contrary to the intereſt of the country and the inclination of the parliament; but which he was led to do by the celebrated cabal miniſtry, who had *ſold themſelves* to France *, and who adviſed the careleſs and diſſolute monarch thus to become the dupe of Lewis the Fourteenth. Lewis, to ſecure the thoughtleſs king, ſent him a miſtreſs, whom he created dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

* Temple.

The

The French ambaſſador had orders from his court to ſpare no expence in breaking up the triple alliance, which had been formed by England, Holland, and Sweden, for preſerving the balance of power in Europe, and checking the ambition of the aſpiring Lewis. He found the *cabal* fit for his purpoſe. This profligate miniſtry ſcrupled not to ſacrifice all the intereſts, and to diſappoint all the wiſhes of the country, to ſerve their own private advantage. They adviſed the king, who liſtened to them with eager ears, to form this alliance with Lewis, that that king might enable him, in caſe of diſturbance at home, by a ſupply of men and money, to *ſubdue his own ſubjects*; and they told him that, confident of this ſupport, he might bid defiance to the parliament, ſtretch the prerogative to an authority equal to that which Henry the Eighth exerciſed, and eſtabliſh the catholic religion in his dominions.

A war was now about to be commenced *for the pleaſure of France*, and expreſsly againſt the wiſh of the people of England, againſt juſtice, treaty, and every thing which ought to be held ſacred by kings; and the captain of a yacht had orders, by every ſpecies of inſult to ſail through the Dutch fleet and ſeek an occaſion of quarrel. This expedient failed; but the court of London, no longer attentive to ceremony in this buſineſs, refuſed to ſee the Dutch ambaſſador, and ſent out a fleet to ſeize the richly laden Dutch Smyrna fleet.

The

The king, as far as he at all attended to public affairs, was inclined himſelf to embrace this meaſure. The covenanters had diſguſted him with preſbyterianiſm, and the men who ſhewed him early friendſhip were catholics, he was therefore inclined to the catholic religion. His pleaſures made him poor, and he was inclined to ſell any intereſt of his kingdom for money; and, as early as 1664, he had offered to allow France to conquer Flanders without oppoſition, provided it would furniſh him, in caſe of need, with 10,000 infantry, and a ſuitable number of cavalry, to *ſubdue his ſubjects in England.*

Such was the wretched ſtate in which the Engliſh were, under this profligate unprincipled king, whom they received as their deliverer from oppreſſion.

What a ſpectacle for the contemplation of mankind! A king, in peace, with the affections of his people, to whom the ſucceſſive parliaments had been eager to concede every prerogative, to whom the proteſtant clergy had been anxious to ſecure a *paſſive obedience*, even by oath, from his ſubjects, enters into a treaty with a *foreign prince* againſt *parliaments*, *prieſts*, and *people!!*

In order to ſecure this victory over the *domeſtic enemy*, Charles agrees to the deſtruction of Holland, which he was bound by treaty to defend, and to aggrandize the power of Lewis, whoſe power and ambition already threatened all Europe.

" Les rois, qui ne ſongent qu' à ſe faire craindre,

" &

" & qu^r à abattre leurs ſujets pour les rendre plus " ſoumis, ſont les fléaux du genre humain. Ils ſont " craints, comme ils le veulent être; mais ils ſont " haïs déteſtés; & ils ont encore plus à craindre " de leurs ſujets, que leurs ſujets n'ont à craindre " d'eux."

When Charles publiſhed a declaration of war againſt the Dutch, every one ſaw the reaſons he aſſigned for the quarrel he was about to revenge were utterly falſe, or ridiculouſly frivolous; and the Engliſh, in the madneſs and wickedneſs of the monarch, read their own doom.

When Charles aſſembled a parliament 1673, which he ſubmitted to do with great reluctance, they immediately ſaw his intentions; for ſeveral members had taken their ſeats, not by writs iſſued by the parliament, but by writs iſſued by the chancellor, a practice which had never been allowed under the monarchy ſince the parliament of 1604. They had the ſpirit to reſiſt this aſſumption of their rights by the crown, and the irregular members withdrew. The next year the king found the parliament too reſolute for inſult, and too jealous for management, and being thus forced out of his deſtructive and abominable meaſures, he made with Holland a ſeparate peace, and ſuch a peace as ought to conclude every unjuſt war. The honour of the flag was yielded to the Dutch, and England had the ſtinging recollection, that ſhe had ſpent her money and murdered her citizens in the ſervice

vice of a king and a faction who had reſolved her deſtruction *.

This conduct of the king had one good conſequence. It infuſed into the people a ſalutary ſuſpicion, which made them watchful of the motions of the profligate during the remainder of his reign.

The commons repeatedly urged the king to enter into a war againſt France, and form an alliance with Holland; but this perfidious monarch had good reaſons for not complying with the wiſhes of the parliament, *he was actually at this moment a penſioner of France*, and received an annual remittance from Lewis. When he at laſt conſented to form an alliance with Holland, his conduct was ſo full of contradiction and uncertainty that a peace was made, to which he not a little contributed, by which Lewis was left in poſſeſſion of a power at which all Europe trembled.

James the Second, who ſucceeded his brother A. D. 1685, began his reign in a manner which threatened the overthrow of the eſtabliſhed church, and the ſubverſion of the fundamental laws of the country. This encouraged the duke of Monmouth, a natural ſon of the late king, to invade the king-

* The reader may ſee a curious account of this deteſtable conſpiracy againſt the people of England, taken from James the Second's own memorials, in the Scotch college at Paris, in Hume, vol. viii. p. 4. He may alſo conſult Dalrymple's Papers on the ſubject.

dom;

dom; but he was ſoon overpowered, his army defeated, and himſelf executed.

One violation of the conſtitution followed another, until the king claimed and exerciſed a power of *diſpenſing with the laws*.

The diſcontents in Scotland produced an invaſion by Argyle, which was attended with no ſerious conſequences, except to the earl himſelf, and a few individuals.

The king now proceeded to quarrel with the eſtabliſhed church; an engine of power of ſuch importance in every ſtate, that none have ever been able to touch it with impunity.

The eſtabliſhed clergy had buſied themſelves with diſtinguiſhed zeal, ſince the reſtoration, in inculcating the doctrine of paſſive obedience, and even in impoſing an oath of non-reſiſtance *on any pretence whatever*, upon the people; and, as long as the court favoured them, they continued zealous champions of this deteſtable doctrine. But no ſooner had this weak and bigotted king ſtretched out his hand againſt their ſacred order, than the clergy ſaw and inculcated the expediency of *reſiſting* the *Lord's anointed*.

The biſhops were among the firſt to invite the Prince of Orange to come over to this country *, and the firſt after his arrival to join him and petition for a free parliament. After, indeed, the king fled,

* Hume, vol. viii. p. 283, 294. Rapin.

and

and the throne was declared vacant, the biſhops did not readily concur in the choice of William to be king; but wiſhed a regent to be appointed, that the ſon of James might afterwards ſucceed to the throne of his father, whom they had depoſed.

It is curious to obſerve the ridiculous ſhifts of theſe men, who were very ready to throw off the yoke which began to be heavy upon themſelves, but who ſeem anxious to diſtraction leſt the people ſhould be inſtructed by this example, and infer that *on the public choice is built the lawful authority of kings.* They had already *reſiſted*, and thus given the lie to all their profeſſions and all their zeal; they had *reſiſted*, even to depoſition, a king who built his authority on *hereditary and divine right*, an authority they had ſanctioned, acknowledged, ſupported, and no zeal for his infant ſon could make their conduct conſiſtent, or ſhew them *practical* friends to the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance.* They at laſt even conſented to deſtroy the ſucceſſion, and give the crown to William; nor was their diſlike of this meaſure ſufficient to induce any number of them to throw up their preferments, which they were bound to do by their former doctrine; for, according to that doctrine, William never was, nor could ever be, the lawful king of England. To hide the truth from vulgar apprehenſion, the government was voted to be *abdicated* by James's flight (that word was afterwards changed for *deſerted*), and the throne to be *vacant.*

It is impoſſible for a man of open and ingenuous character

character to read the vile quibbling of theſe civil and eccleſiaſtical legiſlators without a mixture of indignation and ſcorn. Their low expedients *to cheat the vulgar* were various. But *why* was the government *deſerted* or *abdicated*, and *why* was the throne become *vacant?* Their debates would have been rational if James had voluntarily reſigned the crown. James was driven away by open and direct rebellion, according to the doctrine of theſe doctors, and to talk of his *deſertion* is ridiculous beyond example. The parties knew it to be ridiculous; but, ſaid they, *ignorance is the mother of loyalty*, and we muſt not inform the million. The plain truth is, that James violated the conſtitutional laws, and the people juſtly and properly depoſed him for this offence. Having thus taken the government into their own hands, they exerciſed an act of their own majeſty, and elected William, prince of Orange, to be their king, and Mary their queen, who neither of them had any other poſſible claim to authority, in theſe kingdoms. If the people on this occaſion were fairly conſulted, and if they really conſented to the dominion of William the Third, if this were the work of a majority of the nation and not of a faction, then could William boaſt of a crown, his title to which was the beſt and moſt ſacred of that of any king in Europe.

Revolutions are always dangerous, and nothing but great occaſions can juſtify any attempt to bring them about; but it is the peculiar felicity of this

mighty revolution, that it was effected without any ſlaughter; and attended, notwithſtanding much defect, with conſequences the moſt ſalutary and important.

O, that the revolutions which have ſince happened in Europe had been attended with as little deſtruction! We ſhall ſoon ſee, however, that in Ireland it was not ſo happily accompliſhed.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

By this time our readers are not ſurpriſed at an interruption of hereditary ſucceſſion. Interruptions have been ſo frequent in England, that any claims to authority founded on that right, appear to be very inferior to thoſe which William was authorized to advance, as derived from the choice of the people. Hereditary ſucceſſion may be an expedient, happily enough embraced, in order to ſecure peace and avoid commotion; but it is evident that it can never be advanced againſt the people of any country for whoſe good, and not injury, it was firſt adopted, and has been ſupported, in all enlightened nations.

When the people appointed William to be king, they indeed ſeem to have conferred upon him too much power, and to have neglected the impoſition of conditions which he could not have rejected, and the eſtabliſhment of which, would have been very beneficial to the country. But in exerciſing this choice, the legiſlators (for they, we fear, were the only people conſulted) had to deceive the vulgar, and they thought a ſtricter limitation of prerogative would have tended yet more to inform them of the

nature and extent of their rights. William, therefore, ſucceeded to all the lawful power which James had exerciſed, and was contented not to aſſume that, which had been the occaſion of the late king's fall.

William had ſpent the energies of his early youth in reſiſting the attempts of Lewis the Fourteenth upon the independence of Holland. Military glory was not more deſired by the king of France than by the king of England. No ſooner, therefore, was William firmly ſeated on the throne of England than he wiſhed to engage this country in a war with France. He was not without pretexts which promiſed to influence parliament and the country. Lewis had received the depoſed monarch with kindneſs, and was affording him the means of eſtabliſhing himſelf in Ireland. Lewis had revoked the edict of Nantz, and was the declared enemy of the proteſtant religion.

The people who had dethroned a king were not likely to tolerate him, who granted protection to one whom their treaſon had exiled, and the proteſtants of England could not be expected to be indifferent to the intereſts of a religion which had led them to reſiſtance and to liberty. In the year 1689, ſupported and encouraged by an addreſs of *his* parliament, William declared war againſt France, and joined the confederacy now formed againſt Lewis.

This war was very grateful to the feelings of William, who had juſt as much religion as ſerved his ambition

ambition and his intereſt, and who conceived a more important object than the defence of the proteſtant faith, now demanded his attention, the reduction of Ireland, and the eſtabliſhment of his glory in oppoſition to that of Lewis. In a word, although it was laudable in any power, perhaps, to check the overſpreading influence of France, yet may this war, as far as England is concerned, be fairly aſcribed to the private ambition of William, and the neceſſity of defending his newly acquired crown, as well as his hereditary dominions.

The Engliſh, when they elected a foreigner to be their king, ought not to have expected that he would bring over no attachments to his father's houſe, hoſtile to their own immediate intereſt. If they did expect this, they were diſappointed; for William with one hand ſeized the wealth of their country, and with the other ſcattered it in all the forms of hoſtility and war on the continent. He became the head of the confederacy, and the name of Lewis and of William fell at the ſame moment from the ſame lips. This was an elevation which would have gratified one leſs ſenſible to diſtinction than the king of England.

The power of William was ſoon eſtabliſhed in Scotland; not indeed without ſome reſiſtance, but not of ſufficient importance to be numbered amongſt Engliſh wars. In Ireland a more ſerious ſtruggle took place. That kingdom, ignorant, catholic, loyal, declared for the baniſhed monarch; and there,

for a ſhort time, James eſtabliſhed his dominion, and dreamt that he had yet a faithful and believing people.

But James was not ſuffered long to exerciſe his royal power in Ireland; William reſolved to end the war in perſon, and in 1690 the battle of Boyne determined for ever the fate of the houſe of Stuart, and eſtabliſhed the pretenſions of William, who, however, had not the ſame title to rule in Ireland as in England; for he appears not to have been the elected king, but the conqueror of that unhappy country.

Next year a conſpiracy was detected, the purpoſe of which was to invite the king of France into this country, and to reſtore James. The proof of this conſpiracy was weak and inſufficient; but the principal perſons ſaid to be concerned in it were condemned, in conformity to the then almoſt univerſal practice in this country, the ſpirit of party triumphing over the fair conſtruction of law.

In this year Ireland was completely conquered, and the authority of William eſtabliſhed in that kingdom. The crown of William no longer ſeemed to totter on his head, and the country expected to ſee the army reduced and expence diminiſhed. But "bleſſed are they who expect nothing," the royal Dutchman had other views and other purpoſes to anſwer. He was determined to rival the power and the fame of Lewis, in oppoſition to whom he had ſignalized his early youth; and we are from this

time to conſider the continental war, which gave the Engliſh great diſturbance, as a meaſure reſulting, not from the neceſſities of the country, but from the perſonal ambition of the new king *.

We are now come to that fatal day which ſtamped the character of William with an infamy which the luſtre of no achievements can hide from obſervation, and which has given his name to the execration of all generations. The maſſacre of Glencoe was perpetrated under his expreſs authority, and with a perfidy and cruelty unequalled in the annals of murder.

Campbell, an execrable captain, was ſent to execute the dreadful commiſſion. He profeſſed that he entered the valley of Glencoe as a friend. He and his men were treated with kindneſs and hoſpitality, and lived fifteen days on the moſt intimate and unreſerved terms with the inhabitants. Macdonald, of Glencoe, had been hoſtile at firſt to the government of William. Loyalty was in him a principle of feeling and honour. If it were erroneous, it was ſtill venerable; as all generous attachment muſt ever be. He, however, ſaw that the throne of William was eſtabliſhed, his king and maſter in exile, and had ſubmitted to a neceſſity he could not overcome, and taken the oath to the new king.

After the ruffians had feaſted with Macdonald fifteen days, after they had invited his confidence and

* Smollet. Burnet.

embraced him in the banquet, they roſe upon their friend, and forgetful of the rites of hoſpitality, to themſelves ſo honourably obſerved, they murdered man, woman, and child, and left the valley deſerted (for all had either fled or were murdered), and the ſnow, which now covered it, crimſoned with blood.

At the dead of night, when Macdonald repoſed in confidence, the butchers entered his chamber and ſhot him dead. He fell into the arms of his wife, who died with horror and diſtraction. The laird of Auchintrincken, the gueſt of Macdonald, who had three months before ſubmitted to the royal Dutchman, and had a protection in his pocket, was inſtantly murdered. A boy of eight years of age fell at Campbell's feet imploring mercy, and received the ſword in his heart. Two hundred were doomed to die, but ſome eſcaped from the valley.

When it was found that the tale touched the hearts of the Engliſh, the frozen ſoul of William affected to deny the commiſſion; but the dogs of vengeance were ſuffered to live, and their brutal maſter was fairly convicted of the maſſacre. Will poſterity believe (yes, if poſterity be not improved it will believe) that a number of men, calling themſelves chriſtians and friends of liberty, uſed annually in England to aſſemble to celebrate the praiſes of this monſter, and that in this ſociety * a character was always read by a preſbyterian miniſter, equally

† The Revolution Society.

falſe

falſe and ill written, which deſcribed this royal William as "all that is great and good!" A dreadful proof that honour, humanity, all that is ſacred in life or fair in character, is diſregarded by the malignant ſpirit of political faction.

The ferment of diſcontent was conſtantly kept alive in the kingdom by the partizans of the dethroned king during the continental war, and we wiſh that we had no reaſon to record the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of *juſtice* againſt thoſe accuſed of treaſon in this reign. It cannot be denied, however, that Anderton, the printer, was murdered with the forms of law, in oppoſition to its ſpirit, by Judge Treby and a jury, in 1693.

This year was inſtituted the Bank of England, for the expreſs purpoſe, as well to ſerve the government under its embarraſſment, as the national commerce. And the ſame parliament which eſtabliſhed this bank impoſed a ſtamp duty on parchment and paper, and a tax upon hackney coaches. So grievouſly oppreſſive had William's continental war already become, that it was almoſt impoſſible to raiſe the ſupplies.

William's war on the continent, a war of mere ambition on his part, and one in which the intereſts of England had long ceaſed to be in any manner concerned, was proſecuted with ſtill increaſing vigour; and to ſupport the expenſe the parliament, in 1696, impoſed freſh burthens on the people, ſo enormous that, had we not been inſtructed by recent experience,

ence, we might have concluded them intolerable. Five hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds were granted for the ſupport of the civil liſt for the year enſuing, to be raiſed by a malt tax, and additional duties upon mum, ſweets, cyder, and perry. One ſhilling in the pound in addition to former taxes was laid upon land. The treaſury was allowed to iſſue exchequer bills to the amount of 1200,000 *l.* Hawkers and pedlers were obliged to take out licences, and to pay a duty upon them. In this terrible war was laid the foundation of that ſyſtem of funding, which has ſince been ſo ſucceſsfully purſued, that a debt is now accumulated which hangs like a millſtone about the neck of this country, ready to plunge it into dreadful ruin.

Is it inquired, from what cauſe aroſe this calamitous proſecution of a war againſt the intereſts of the people, and attended with ſo much oppreſſion? The anſwer is not difficult. The people, in electing a king, had yielded to him too much power, his prerogative was held too ſacred, and it appears as if they had only baniſhed one tyrant to have the pleaſure of ſacrificing themſelves to the caprice of another. This war was not the conſequence of the *principles of the revolution*, but of oppoſite principles, in which the nation had been educated, and which they had not yet diſcarded.

Next year, 1697, a general pacification took place, by which ſome advantages were ſecured to Holland; but the only advantage England obtained, after

after expending ſo much blood and treaſure, was a deliverance from a war which had brought it to the very brink of ruin. "Such was the iſſue," ſays a candid hiſtorian, "of a long and bloody war, "which had drained England of her wealth and "people, almoſt entirely ruined her commerce, de-"bauched her morals by encouraging venality and "corruption, and entailed upon her the *curſe of fo-"reign connexions*, as well as a national debt which "has gradually increaſed to an intolerable burthen."

In the year 1701 William died; but not before he had entered into a treaty of alliance, which involved this country in another war immediately upon the acceſſion of Anne to the throne.

King James was now dead, and had left male iſſue; but the parliament of England, acting for the people, again exerted an act of ſovereignty, and placed this daughter of the degraded monarch on the throne.

The queen reſolved to fulfil the engagements of William to his allies the emperor and the Dutch. She did ſo, and war was declared accordingly againſt France in 1702. The declaration contained an enumeration of various cauſes of complaint; but the only one ſeriouſly conſidered, was the extenſive power of Lewis, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome part of the Spaniſh dominions, and whom William had all his lifetime endeavoured to humble. The ſyſtem of the late king was purſued by the queen, in conformity to the advice of the earl of Marlborough, who

who was as ambitious to ſignalize himſelf as the royal Dutchman had been before him, in contempt of the intereſts of this country.

It has long been the policy of England to enter into wars in order to preſerve the balance of power upon the continent. To affirm that *on no occaſion* can it be proper to interfere with the continental ſtates, were, perhaps, too bold; but it may ſafely be ſtated, that *nearly all* the wars we have waged on this *pretence* (for it has often been no more than a pretence) might have been avoided, not only with ſafety to England, but with advantage to the continent.

On the preſent occaſion a war was waged in which the people of England had no poſſible intereſt, and by which the different ſtates on the continent loſt much and gained nothing. The tale ſounds ridiculouſly for England. The emperor claimed the crown of Spain for his ſon. But the king of Spain left the kingdom by will to the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin. Lewis accepted of this will, in contradiction to the treaty of partition. As this threw more power into the hands of Lewis, than William, the advocate of the treaty of partition, affected to think for the ſafety of Europe, of whoſe fate he proudly conſidered himſelf as the arbiter, he ſcrupled not to involve the people of England in a new war, without any ſolicitation or diſſatisfaction of the people of Spain, and with no other plauſible pretence but the *future* and *diſtant* good of that Europe he had choſen to govern.

What

What was the ſon of the emperor to the poor people of England, that they muſt be impoveriſhed and murdered to ſeat him on the Spaniſh throne? Beſides, both France and Spain were poor and exhauſted, and not now likely to give diſturbance to Europe; and ſuch is the fluctuation of all human governments, that it is folly to inflict a preſent evil to prevent a diſtant poſſible calamity, which yet may be prevented, in the ordinary courſe of things, by a thouſand events no ſagacity can either foreſee or elude. How often do we ſee family connexions at variance and war, when they fill different thrones; and how often are the moſt alarming combinations formed by potentates who ſhare with each other no family intereſt or feeling? This ſhould check the ardour of our zeal for wars againſt *poſſible* miſchiefs, and in defence of what is perhaps wholly chimerical, or at leaſt above human ſkill and ability, the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe. Yet for a purpoſe no better than this, and perhaps not ſo honourable, perhaps for the purpoſe of gratifying the ambition of Marlborough, were the people of this country now plunged into the horrors of a dreadful conflict, to which the poor man was obliged to give the bread, for which his children were crying.

The parliament, however, ſeconded the queen, and were ſo pleaſed with ſome good news which arrived of ſucceſſes, that, A. D. 1705, they voted her 250,000 *l.* " for her majeſty's proportion in the expenſe of proſecuting the ſucceſſes already gained by

King

King Charles the Third for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria!!" And even the poor rejoiced, ſo readily does ignorance ſympathize with the pleaſure of others although it pay the expence of it. Of what importance is it to the poor man, "who riſes early, late takes reſt, and eats the "bread of care," whether the houſe of Auſtria or the houſe of Bourbon poſſeſs the Spaniſh monarchy!

After great varieties of fortune in the proſecution of a ten years' war, in which the Engliſh troops obtained much military honour, peace was concluded between England and France in 1712. The king of Spain renounced his pretenſions to the crown of France, and peace was made with the ſame condition with Spain. No other condition was obtained, of any importance to England, which might not have been obtained without any war at all; and we ſhall ſoon ſee how unimportant it is by what ties of blood monarchs are united, and how abſurdly the blood and treaſure of England were ſquandered in this war; for the family of Bourbon was ſoon divided againſt itſelf when in poſſeſſion of both France and Spain, to the utter confuſion of thoſe who foretold, with ſo much aſſurance, that theſe two kingdoms united in the ſame family would annihilate the liberty and independence of Europe. Perhaps in the whole hiſtory of mankind a war leſs productive of benefit than that, whoſe origin and termination we have traced, is not to be found.

May we not be excuſed for urging again upon our

our readers the ſerious conſideration of the general futility of wars for the preſervation of the balance of power? What is the ſtatus quo of Europe? Do not the events of every day alter it? It may not be improper for even diſtant countries to interfere in behalf of an oppreſſed people, actually attacked by a power without ſufficient cauſe, and for a wicked purpoſe of plunder and ſubjugation; but it is certainly as abſurd for any nation to go to war to prevent the poſſible tyranny of ſome power which *may* hereafter become formidable, as it would be for a man to buſy himſelf with making engines to preſerve the air from agitation, or the waters from purſuing a new courſe.

CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN ANNE died in 1714, and was ſucceeded in the throne of theſe kingdoms by George Lewis, elector of Hanover; who was deſcended in the maternal line from Elizabeth, daughter of James the Firſt of England.

This is the third inſtance, in leſs than thirty years, of the parliament of England exerting an act of ſovereignty in the election of the ſupreme magiſtrate.

George the Firſt, founding his title on the choice of the people, aſcended the throne of England in the 55th year of his age. The beginning of the reign of George was tempeſtuous and perilous; plots, ſeditions, and even open rebellion, diſturbed his infant government.

The year 1715 was made memorable by the attempt of King James's ſon to recover the kingdoms from which his father had been driven, and which he believed to be his own by hereditary right, ſanctioned by human, and, as he thought, by divine laws.

The ſtandard of loyalty to this prince was firſt erected in Scotland, and conſiderable progreſs was made

made in England by the friends of injured royalty. But the Engliſh people, having declared themſelves the real and legitimate ſovereign, and having elected two kings and one queen, united to reſiſt the pretenſions of this prince, and to aſſert their own majeſty. The rebellion was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and the Engliſh had the pleaſure to ſee their own ſovereignty triumph over the ſovereign who claimed them as his inheritance, and natural rights eſtabliſhed on the ruins of thoſe which are fictitious.

But however the friend of mankind may rejoice at the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, he will weep over the executions which followed that event. Loyalty, with many who thus ventured their lives and fortunes, was a principle of ſincere and pious attachment to the cauſe of what they eſteemed injured and inſulted majeſty. With what emotions would a wiſe and benevolent man ſee theſe gentlemen hanged, drawn, and quartered, the *mild* puniſhment of kingly wiſdom?

The inventions of men have been many and ingenious; every art has been improved, every ſcience has been extended, by the induſtry and application of mankind. Yet have we not learned how to confine the energies of dangerous individuals, without cutting them off from exiſtence. Is the induſtry of man ſo occupied in other purſuits, in ſharpening the ſteel for the ſoldier, or ſpreading the ſails for the merchant; in forming ſchemes for monopoly, luxury, and murder; that he has no leiſure

to build priſons for thoſe whoſe nature is yet wild, but who through diſcipline and care may be made uſeful to that world they have injured by error or by crime? Is the globe ſo limited and narrow that no ſequeſtered ſpot remains to which thoſe men may be tranſported whoſe habits unfit them for European ſociety? Or, alive to every other intereſt, are we only dead to the feelings of humanity, and neglectful of that which ſhould be our chief buſineſs, the reformation and happineſs of our own ſpecies? Men, Engliſhmen, Chriſtians! No; the tender humanity of the chriſtian ſpirit belongs not to us; and if we are allowed to retain the name of our country, a country ſullied by ſo many crimes, let us at leaſt renounce the name of our ſpecies, or attend more to its intereſts.

Pennſylvania offers us inſtruction. She rarely puniſhes her citizens with death; ſhe has but one crime which is followed by capital puniſhment, whilſt England, the admiration and abhorrence of the world, has *two hundred.* Yet the mildneſs of Pennſylvanian puniſhments has decreaſed in that country the catalogue of crimes in the midſt of increaſing population *.

In 1716 the parliament repealed the triennial act, and extended the term of parliament to *ſeven years.* The pretence for this meaſure was the party ſpirit which the rebellion had lighted up in the country.

* Turnbull's Viſit to Priſon at Philadelphia.

But

But if this were an act of *neceſſity*, and rendered ſo by the fermentation of the times, why is it become perpetual?

It has been well obſerved, that parliament, in point of right, might as well have declared itſelf perpetual; and that a temporary neceſſity can never be pleaded for eſtabliſhing laſting inſtitutions. Indeed, at this moment, it has been ſaid, that the independence of parliaments periſhed, the connexion between them and the country was diſſolved, and that they are in future rather to be regarded as the king's council than the people's repreſentatives.

The king now went to Hanover and formed an alliance with France and Holland; the object of which was to protect his German dominions from the king of Sweden, and his Engliſh throne from the pretenſions of the houſe of Stuart. The king of France agreed to baniſh the pretender from his court, and the contracting parties mutually guaranteed to England the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and if the young king of France ſhould die, the crown of that kingdom to the duke of Orleans in oppoſition to the claims of the king of Spain.

Thus did the foreign connexions of the people-elected kings of England involve England in conſtant ſtrife with the continental powers. The merchants connected with Spain loudly complained of this triple alliance, which gave needleſs offence to the country from which they drew their profits. They, perhaps, did not reflect, with ſufficient ſatisfaction,

that by this alliance Bremen and Verden were ſecured to the houſe of Hanover; or did they foreſee, that by this meaſure the blood and treaſure of England would be for many years ſacrificed to the petty and contemptible intereſts of the electorate?

In purſuance of the ſame intereſts which had induced George to form the triple alliance, he, in 1718, formed the celebrated quadruple alliance between England, France, Holland, and the emperor. It was ſettled by this treaty that Sardinia, now in the poſſeſſion of Spain, ſhould be transferred to the duke of Savoy, and Sicily ceded in exchange to the emperor. The emperor was to renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain; and the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, claimed by the queen of Spain as heireſs of the houſes of Medicis and Farneſæ, were to devolve upon her eldeſt ſon, in caſe the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould die without male iſſue. Three months were allowed for the parties to reject or aſſent to this partition.

Although the king of Spain had agreed to refer the diſagreements which then ſubſiſted between him and other powers to George and the States-General, he ſaw an evident partiality in the conduct of the partitioners, and was determined not to ſubmit to ſuch a ſacrifice of the intereſts of his houſe. We ſee here the two branches of the Bourbon family at the head of France and Spain in oppoſition to each other; ſo ill founded were the apprehenſions that the government of theſe two kingdoms devolving upon

upon one family would form an union fatal to the independence of Europe, and ſo prepoſterous in general have been the wars undertaken for the preſervation of the balance of power.

We are now, indeed, in the midſt of ſcenes and events, in which it is impoſſible not to perceive the miſchief of admitting an hereditary right in monarchs ſubject to no control or interruption by the people; for the intermarriages of the royal families of Europe have frequently thrown ſo many kingdoms into one family, that the conſequences have been eternal jealouſy and war.

When the philoſopher ſits down to ſettle the account of the hereditary right of kings, and to eſtimate the good and evil it has done to mankind, before he cenſure or applaud this human contrivance, he will do well to peruſe with attention the hiſtory of wars, and eſpecially the wars of the laſt and the preſent century, undertaken to adjuſt or to preſerve the balance of power, ſo often threatened with deſtruction by the operation of this right in the ſovereigns of Europe. Nor is it poſſible to obſerve the kings of Europe aſſembled to partition and diſpoſe of kingdoms at their pleaſure, without feeling all the man within, glow with a lively indignation at thoſe notions which have pronounced man, like the beaſts of the field, the diſpoſable property of princes.

The conduct of the king of England in the quadruple alliance immediately involved this country in a war with Spain, deſtroyed the Engliſh trade

with that country, and led to other and more laſting miſchiefs.

The fortune of war, however, obliged the king of Spain to accede to the quadruple alliance; and thus the emperor was obliged to the king of England for an acceſſion of power. But ſo delicate is this balance of power, and ſo quick are its vibrations, that we ſhall ſoon ſee the monarch of England combining againſt the emperor, as we have already ſeen him combining ſucceſſively againſt France and Spain.

In 1725 George entered into a treaty of alliance with France, Denmark, and Pruſſia, againſt the *emperor* and Spain, for the obvious purpoſe of ſecuring the ſafety of his foreign dominions; but when he communicated this treaty to parliament, he enlarged upon its importance to the preſervation of the *trade* and the *religion* of England. It was obſerved in the parliament, that the ſcheme of preſerving the balance of power was abandoned by this treaty; for it was formed expreſsly *againſt* a power, which, but yeſterday, was ſuppoſed to hold the balance of power in its hands, and the ſupport of which was neceſſary for this purpoſe againſt the dreaded combination of France and Spain.

Indeed it cannot be denied, that as the balance of power conveys to common minds no diſtinct ideas, it is a convenient excuſe; and as ſuch it has generally been uſed for the commencement of wars really intended to ſerve the ambition of the monarch and

the intereſt of the courtier, or to cover ſome encroachment upon the rights of the people.

Whatever were the zeal of the king of England for the ſecurity of the balance of power in Europe, it is eaſy to perceive that his chief anxiety was to eſtabliſh the power of the elector of Hanover, for which he never ſcrupled to ſacrifice the intereſt or the faith of Britain.

Religion has been the watchword at the beginning of every war deſigned to dupe the people, by thoſe who alike have laughed at it and them.

The king of England now went to war with Spain; but before the concluſion of it he died, in June 1727, in the 68th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. His ſon George the Second aſcended the throne.

In 1729 peace was made between England, France, and Spain; but without the concurrence of the emperor, who was entitled to more reſpect by the quadruple alliance. Of this treatment the emperor juſtly complained, and the Engliſh had, in this conduct, ſufficient evidence offered them, that the former pretence of fighting for the balance of power was indeed a *pretence* held out to blind them, and induce them to fight for the ſeparate intereſts of Hanover.

It was the policy of Sir Robert Walpole, who long enjoyed the confidence and regulated the conduct of the ſecond George, to keep the country in peace, and to employ the money which was received

from the people in bribing the members of parliament, inſtead of gratifying his naval and military ſupporters by hoſtilities, which, whilſt they would have enriched them, would have inevitably coſt the lives of thouſands of obſcure, but induſtrious, citizens.

The peaceful adminiſtration of this famous miniſter was little ſuited to the taſte and genius of his factious countrymen. They had been long accuſtomed to almoſt annual wars. Their ears had been gratified with the ſounds of military glory and exploit; and a powerful, hungry, and reſtleſs oppoſition, continually goaded Walpole to meaſures of enterpriſe and hoſtility. But the miniſter, fortified by numbers in parliament and the approbation of his king, reſiſted their inceſſant importunity, until the Spaniards ill-treated the trading ſubjects of Britain in America, diſputed their right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, or to gather ſalt on the iſland of Tortugas, and boarded and plundered Britiſh ſhips.

The oppoſition exaggerated theſe inſults and injuries of Spain; the capital, now become completely commercial, flamed with indignation, and the miniſter was reluctantly forced to declare war againſt the king of Spain, in October 1739.

It is far from our purpoſe to defend a ſyſtem of bribery and corruption; but before Walpole be condemned, the ſtate of parties in the country ſhould be conſidered, and the independence of the

parliament of the people. The country was torn to pieces by adverſe factions, all eager to promote their own advantage, and equally regardleſs of the public good.

The ſeptennial act had made parliament now greatly independent of the people, and a member who obtained a ſeat expected to indemnify himſelf from the treaſury for what it had coſt him. The country was abſolutely governed by factions, and *it could not be otherwiſe governed*; for the people were too ignorant to be appealed to by any miniſter or any king.

A country governed by faction will always be ſolicitous of war; it is the opportunity of which the partizans of faction avail themſelves to obtain plunder. Walpole had ſagacity enough to ſee this. A little of the money which muſt have been ſpent in war he gave to the members of parliament, and the thunder of eloquence was the harmleſs artillery he employed. Much was gained and nothing loſt to the country by this conduct. The lives which war would have waſted were ſaved. The money was ſaved to circulate in the country, and *leſs* was wrung from the people.

But the factions were corrupted. No; they were before incurably corrupt, as all factions muſt ever be, and nothing can correct the rage or cure the corruption of factions but *an enlightened people.* Every thing but this is a merely temporary expedient; and the expedient of Walpole was leſs dreadful

ful than the expedients of William of Holland and the firſt George.

In 1741 a ſcheme was formed by France to deſtroy the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and to raiſe the elector of Bavaria to the imperial diadem. To the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, and the utter confuſion of the advocates for the balance of power, the Engliſh king ſigned a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover, and engaged his vote to the elector of Bavaria, although it had ever been held impoſſible for the independence of Europe to be preſerved, unleſs the power of Auſtria was ſuſtained and oppoſed to the power of the Bourbons. All men now ſaw that there was a probability that the emperor and the Bourbons would be ſoon in ſtrict and dangerous alliance.

The king of England, keeping his eye ſteadily fixed upon the intereſts of Hanover, thought proper, in the moment of danger, to preſerve a neutrality; but when the fate of war had again declared in favour of the houſe of Auſtria, and when good conditions of peace might have been obtained by that houſe, George, who had ſuffered the Spaniſh war to move on very heavily, and who ſeemed neither to poſſeſs energy nor deciſion, was all at once fired with the ambition of making war upon France, which was already much humbled by the events of war, and was no longer alarming to the other powers of Europe. The miniſtry was changed, and the pacific counſels of Walpole had given way

to

to the ambitious and abſurd projects of Lord Carteret.

Whilſt many of the leaſt conſiderable ſtates of Europe, without fear or alarm for their ſafety and independence, obſerved a ſtrict neutrality, the Engliſh king, as if the exiſtence of his kingdom had now depended upon the humiliation of France (although England had no poſſible intereſt whatever in the war), moved heaven and earth againſt the power he had determined to cruſh. The war with Spain and the protection of trade were forgotten in the ſplendid proſpects of triumph and ſucceſs over the devoted kingdom of France. An immenſe army and navy were voted for this important purpoſe, and 16,000 Hanoverians and Heſſian auxiliaries were taken into Britiſh pay. The friends of the country wept over the madneſs of the king, they ſaw every conſideration of Engliſh intereſt ſacrificed to Hanoverian politics and connexions, although Hanover was preſerved from the burthen of even fighting its own battles, and that at a time when the debt of England had increaſed to an enormous ſize, and the nation groaned under moſt intolerable impoſitions.

The Engliſh king pretended that he made theſe formidable preparations in order *to preſerve the balance of power*, although the danger of its deſtruction, if danger there were, had already paſſed away, and but for his impertinent and needleſs interference, the dreadful ſtorm had been now huſhed to peace.

After

After the battle of Dettingen (1743), in which the allies were victorious, an attempt was made by the diet for the reſtoration of peace, but their overtures were rejected. It did not yet appear what poſſible object the king of England could have in this war, upon which he had entered without any cauſe of complaint, to which no intereſt of England urged him, and in which he rather forwarded the agitation than the repoſe and ſafety of Europe; but his interference was aſcribed by ſome contemporaries to perſonal ambition of military fame, and by others to a ſecret intention of adding ſomething to his Hanoverian dominions.

The king, however, was determined to take *no ſecondary* ſhare in the war; but had entered into a treaty at Worms with the king of Sardinia and the queen of Hungary; by which it appears how deeply George engaged himſelf in the proſecution of hoſtilities, and with what ill faith he acted to the republic of Genoa.

By this treaty it was agreed that the queen of Hungary ſhould maintain 30,000 men in Italy, and the king of Sardinia 40,000 infantry and 5000 horſe, in conſideration of the command of the combined armies being given to him, and a ſubſidy from Great Britain of 280,000 *l.* per annum. The queen of Hungary yielded to the king of Sardinia the city of Placentia, with certain diſtricts in the duchy of Pavia and in the Novareſe, and her right to Finale, at *preſent poſſeſſed by Genoa*, and to which ſtate the Engliſh

liſh had guaranteed the poſſeſſion of it by the fourth article of the quadruple alliance!

Such were the means by which George proſecuted on the continent this *juſt and neceſſary war*. The ſums of money England ſupplied were immenſe. The expenſe of the year 1743 exceeded ten millions *.

In the ſame year Lewis ſent a fleet to invade England, but the attempt proved abortive; theſe mutual infractions of treaty, however, ended in a formal declaration of war on both ſides.

In the year 1745 Prince Charles landing in Scotland, was joined by a ſmall body of men, and thus, without the knowledge or aſſiſtance of the French court, prepared to aſſert the right of his family to the crown of England.

At this moment this kingdom was very much divided on account of the ruinous war in which the king had engaged the country, contrary to all its intereſts, with views of perſonal ambition, or for the enlargement of his Hanoverian dominions. But this attack rather united the parties than divided the councils of the kingdom, and a great majority had good ſenſe enough to know, that the king whom they had choſen had the faireſt title to power, and that a king in poſſeſſion ought always to be preferred to a candidate king, if even the title of the latter were better than the former, if the former be not a

* Smollet, vol. iii. p. 110.

tyrant;

tyrant; for thus the dreadful expenſe of a revolution is ſaved, and the riſque of a change of maſters is not run.

Notwithſtanding the good ſenſe, or the cowardice, of the people, prevented the Engliſh from joining the ſtandard of Charles, with the few followers whom he had collected in Scotland and at Mancheſter, that prince advanced as far as Derby, affording a memorable proof of the defenceleſs ſtate in which the kingdom then was, whilſt the king and the duke of Cumberland were fighting the battles of Hanover upon the continent. They had now, however, arrived in England, and the duke was at the head of an army far more powerful than that of Charles, and advancing towards Derby to give him battle. In theſe painful circumſtances, neglected where he had confidently looked for ſupport, and now anxiouſly looking for the arrival of troops from France, the repreſentative of the royal houſe of Stuart called a council of war, in which it was determined inſtantly to meaſure back his ſteps to Scotland. The retreat to Scotland was accompliſhed with ſurpriſing ſkill; and the Stuart army, even upon its return through a country abounding with riches, and which had ſhewed it neglect, committed no violence or depredation upon the perſons or property of the inhabitants.

The battle of Culloden extinguiſhed the expiring hopes of the houſe of Stuart; but the victory obtained at that place by the duke of Cumberland was

attended

attended with circumſtances ſo diſgraceful, that no time can waſh away the ſtain which fixed upon him and his army on that dreadful day. Even after the battle the duke's men traverſed the field of action, and maſſacred the poor wretches who lay maimed and weltering in their blood. Nor were the private ſoldiers alone guilty of this unpardonable outrage, but even ſome of the officers, forgetful of all ſentiments of honour and reſpect for the lofty feelings of erroneous loyalty, triumphed over the fallen fortunes of an illuſtrious and royal houſe, and ferociouſly murdered the adherents and friends of their former king *.

Where is the grace of life, and where the cheap defence of nations? Alas! dear has been the defence of nations; rivers of blood have flowed, and character and honour have been ſacrificed a thouſand times in this cauſe. The grace of life, wherever it be ſought, will ſeldom be found amidſt the groans of the dying and the fierce rage of combat.

After this fatal battle prince Charles wandered a wretched fugitive among the mountains and woods of Scotland; and ſuch were the difficulties to which he was reduced, that he might well exclaim, "The "foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have "neſts; but the deſcendant of kings has not where "to lay his head."

The year 1746 is memorable in the annals of

* Smollet, vol. iii. p. 168.

Engliſh

Engliſh expenditure and folly. The war on the continent continued to rage; a war in which the Engliſh had not any intereſt. It was ill conducted, and the arms of France triumphed over the allies. The king demanded ſupplies. They were voted by the parliament as if by acclamation. Forty thouſand ſeamen for the year enſuing; forty thouſand land forces, including 11,500 marines; 433,000 *l.* were granted to the queen of Hungary, 300,000 *l.* to the king of Sardinia, 410,000 *l.* for the maintenance of Hanoverian auxiliaries, 161,600 *l.* for Heſſian ſoldiers, ſubſidies to the electors of Cologn, Mentz, and Bavaria; and 500,000 *l.* to enable the king to proſecute the war with vigour. The ſupplies of the year amounted to near ten millions ſterling!

The reflections of Smollet, who records theſe facts, demand our attention. "The ſupplies," ſays he, "of this year exceeded, by two millions and a "half, the greateſt annual ſum that was raiſed in the "reign of Queen Anne, though ſhe maintained as "great a number of troops as was now in the pay of "Great Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired "every year freſh harveſts of glory and advantage: "whereas this war had proved an almoſt uninter-"rupted ſeries of events big with diſaſter and diſ-"grace. During the laſt two years the naval ex-"penſe of England had exceeded that of France "about five millions ſterling, though her fleets had "not obtained one ſignal advantage over the enemy

"at

" at ſea, nor been able, to protect her commerce
" from his depredations. She was at once a prey
" to her declared adverſaries and profeſſed friends.
" Before the end of ſummer ſhe numbered among
" her mercenaries two empreſſes, five German
" princes, and a powerful monarch, whom ſhe hired
" to aſſiſt her in *trimming the balance of Europe*, in
" which they themſelves were immediately intereſt-
" ed, but in which ſhe had no more than a ſecondary
" concern. Had theſe fruitleſs ſubſidies been ſaved,
" had the national revenue been applied with eco-
" nomy to national purpoſes, had it been employed
" in liquidating gradually the public incumbrances,
" in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures,
" encouraging and ſecuring the colonies, and extend-
" ing trade and navigation, corruption would have
" become altogether unneceſſary; and diſaffection
" would have vaniſhed; the people would have
" been eaſed of their burthens, and ceaſed to com-
" plain; commerce would have flouriſhed, and
" produced ſuch affluence as muſt have raiſed Great
" Britain to the higheſt pinnacle of maritime power,
" above all rivalſhip or competition. She would
" have been dreaded by her enemies, revered by her
" neighbours, oppreſſed nations would have crept
" under her wings for protection, contending poten-
" tates would have appealed to her deciſion, and
" ſhe would have ſhone the univerſal arbitreſs of
" Europe. How different is her preſent ſituation!
" her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her

" people diſcontented, and the ſinews of her govern-
" ment relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or
" concert, ſhe engages in blundering negociations,
" ſhe involves herſelf raſhly in foreign quarrels, and
" laviſhes her ſubſtance with the moſt dangerous
" precipitation; ſhe is even deſerted by her wonted
" vigour, ſteadineſs, and intrepidity; ſhe grows
" vain, fantaſtical, and puſillanimous; her arms are
" deſpiſed by her enemies, and her councils ridiculed
" through all Chriſtendom."

Thoſe who reaſon in favour of the perfectability of man, draw all that is ſolid in their arguments from the poſſibility of the reduction of the moral evil by which the world is oppreſſed. They ſee the labour of man employed rather in preparing the apparatus of death, than in producing the means of life; and they ſay, were the moral ſentiments of men corrected, war and ſhow would have no place; and the expence of war and luxury being converted to the uſes of life, would ſupply all the real wants of all that live. To a certain extent this muſt be admitted to be true, and the proſpect is ſo cheering that we hope the viſion is divine. The firſt ſtep appears to be the inſtruction of the people. They muſt be taught that war is ever injurious to their intereſt; that it is the contrivance of tyranny for the ſubjugation of ignorance; and that as long as it is allowed in any country, the comfort of the people can never be ſecured. Convinced that this is true, we are proud to be as " a voice crying in the wilderneſs"

to haſten and aſſiſt the approach of human happineſs.

At length, in the year 1748, a treaty of peace was ſettled at Aix la Chapelle. The baſis of accommodation was *a general reſtitution of conqueſts.* England agreed to reſtore Cape Breton, and all the conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to France, and to ſend as hoſtages to that court two perſons of rank, until the reſtitution ſhould be made.

The right of Engliſh ſubjects to navigate the American ſeas without being ſubject to ſearch, *was not even mentioned,* though *this* was the oſtenſible cauſe of the war with Spain, to aſſert which the merchants were willing to riſque the chances of a bloody war. The limits of Acadia were not aſcertained.

Speaking of this treaty, and the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry in it, Smollet judiciouſly obſerves, "They left the moſt valuable and neceſſary rights of "the trade of England unowned and undecided; "they ſubſcribed to the inſolent demand of ſending "the nobles of the realm to grace the court and "adorn the triumphs of her enemy; and they tamely gave up her conqueſts in North America, of "more conſequence to her traffic than all the other "dominions for which the powers at war contended; "they gave up the important iſle of Cape Breton in "exchange for a petty factory in the Eaſt Indies, "belonging to a private company, whoſe exiſtence "had been deemed prejudicial to the common-

" wealth. What then were the fruits which Britain " reaped from this long and deſperate war? A " dreadful expenſe of blood and treaſure, diſgrace " upon diſgrace, an additional load of grievous im- " poſitions, and the national debt accumulated to the " enormous ſum of eighty millions ſterling."

The king's deſign in entering upon this war was completely defeated. His perſonal ambition was humbled by diſhonour and defeat. Hanover obtained no advantage, and the intereſts of the merchants of England were neglected in the pacification. George, however, found that he now muſt endeavour to *get out* of that into which he had been anxious to ruſh, and the abuſed and inſulted people rejoiced that they had at length thrown off an evil that oppreſſed them. They paid cheerfully to the war, and they applauded the peace! Such have been the humble inſtruments of kings.

The waſte and ruin of this dreadful war oppreſſed without inſtructing the French or Engliſh. To inſtruct a great people, ſo as to enable them to unite and to dictate to the government which meditates their oppreſſion, is one of the laſt, and perhaps it will be one of the greateſt, efforts of human wiſdom, if it be ever accompliſhed. There are at preſent certain appearances which indicate the poſſibility of ſuch a ſcheme. If, in the colliſion of parties in any country, it become the intereſt of one party, in order to accompliſh its own purpoſes, to inſtruct *the whole population* in the ſcience of their rights,

the

the union and the orderly power of the people thus inſtructed, may perhaps be eſtabliſhed. The making of good roads, the invention of the telegraph, the eaſy acquiſition of the military art, the perfection of the art of printing, ſeem to promiſe that at ſome diſtant period the *people* will virtually govern, by influencing directly and imperiouſly the councils of their repreſentatives. He, who riſing from the contemplation of human miſery, the reſult of corrupt and murderous governments, anticipates the poſſibility of ſuch a change in the affairs of men, muſt, if the feelings of humanity ever agitated his boſom, glow with ecſtaſy when rapt with this ſublime viſion. Yet the proſpect is intercepted by many a heavy cloud. The eager eye of benevolence has often thought it deſcried the change near at hand; but generations have riſen and ſunk into duſt ſince ſuch expectations have been formed and decorated with all the deſcriptions of ſacred poeſy. "O Lord, how "long!" has been the anxious exclamation of diſappointed and expiring hope; and, perhaps, all the aids of modern invention and diſcovery will leave us, in this reſpect, as if we had been born "years be-"yond the flood."

The war of 1755 is a memorable example of the ignorance and folly of the people, and of the cruelty and ambition of governors. The laſt peace had left undefined the limits of Acadia. The Engliſh claimed the whole territory of Nova Scotia to the ſouthern bank of the river St. Lawrence, and the French

only admitted their right to the peninſula of Acadia. The company of Engliſh merchants, who called themſelves the Ohio company, claimed the right by charter to a large tract of land ſituated on the banks of the Ohio, with the privilege of excluſive commerce with the Indians who inhabited theſe regions. The traders of Virginia and Pennſylvania were alarmed as well as the Indian nations, who ſaw, with extreme anxiety, Engliſh ſurveyors meaſure and parcel out their lands, as if they, the occupants, had no right or claim, to the ſoil which produced them. Monſieur Du Queſne, governor of Canada, declared that he would protect the Indian tribes who were under the crown of France. Major Waſhington (the future idol of his country) was ſent by the government of Virginia to the French commander on the Ohio, to demand by what authority encroachments were made, and fortreſſes erected, on the territories of the Britiſh king; and to command him immediately to deſiſt from ſo injurious an undertaking. A remonſtrance was then made by the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France, and that court engaged to make inquiries, and amicably adjuſt all diſputes which had taken place.

The French, however, did not fulfil their promiſes, and ſoon after a battle was fought between the troops under Major Waſhington and the French, upon the banks of the Ohio. When intelligence of this event arrived in Europe, the Engliſh ambaſſador again applied to the French court, but could obtain

no

no ſatisfaction. Various acts of hoſtility followed this, which at length ended in a formal declaration of war. Thus we ſee France and England, in leſs than ſeven years, again involved in a dreadful war, which was long, expenſive, and bloody; the oſtenſible object of which was too trifling to have been diſputed at the riſque of one man's life.

A diviſion of a wild uncultivated country, from which little reſources could be drawn, and belonging of right neither to the one power nor the other of the two about to commence hoſtilities, becomes the object of a bloody conflict, and receives the ſanction of both the French and Engliſh!

It is little worthy our inquiry (though we think it ought to be admitted, that the French attempted to narrow the boundaries of the territory claimed by England) who was the aggreſſor in this deſtructive war. The court of each country had an intereſt in this, as in all wars in which taxes are liberally impoſed upon the wretched people, and employment and pay are given to the minions of princes, and perhaps a few merchants might conceive themſelves *intereſted* in the diſpute; but why did not the people of England and France demand that their rulers ſhould adjuſt their claims in peace? Wretched muſt always be this world, until the people of every country dictate peace to their rulers. We here ſee two kings going to war about their right to the diviſions of a country, to which they neither had any

more right than a robber has to the plunder he has ſeized by violence!

This diſpute, which thus began in America, was not long confined to that continent, but ſpread deſtruction and war throughout Europe. King George was now at Hanover, and, as his firſt ſolicitude was for his German dominions, before he returned to England he fortified his intereſt in Germany by a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. The landgrave engaged to hold in readineſs, during four years, for his majeſty's ſervice *eight thouſand men*, to be employed either on the continent of Europe, or in Britain or Ireland; and, if required, at ſix months notice four thouſand more, of which ſeven hundred were to be horſe, and each regiment of infantry to be furniſhed with two field pieces of cannon. The king engaged to pay the landgrave for theſe ſuccours 80 crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and 30 crowns banco for every foot ſoldier; the crown to be reckoned at fifty-three ſols of Holland, or at four ſhillings and ninepence three farthings Engliſh money: and alſo to pay to the landgrave, for the 8000 men, an annual ſubſidy of 150,000 crowns banco, during four years, to commence from the day of ſigning the treaty; which ſum was to be increaſed to 300,000 crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops to the time of their entering into Britiſh pay; and in caſe they

were diſmiſſed, the ſaid ſubſidy of 300,000 crowns was then to be continued during the reſidue of the term; and if 12,000 men were furniſhed, the ſubſidy was to be increaſed in proportion.

King George began a treaty with Ruſſia about the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe, to ſecure the protection of his dominions at Hanover. This treaty was ſigned in September 1755, and by it the empreſs of Ruſſia agreed to maintain, on the frontiers of Livonia, an army of 40,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, with a naval force of 50 gallies, to be in immediate readineſs to act at the requiſition of the king of England; and George agreed to pay her an annual ſubſidy of 500,000 pounds. But this treaty was ſhaken by a ſubſequent one entered into between King George and his Pruſſian majeſty, not to ſuffer foreign troops to paſs through Germany during the war. Terms of neutrality had been offered to George, as the elector of Hanover, which he refuſed to accept, chooſing rather to defend that electorate with Engliſh money.

Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl Chatham, oppoſed the meaſure of ſpending Britiſh money upon Hanover; and his ſpeech is worthy of notice, as containing moſt important and ſeaſonable truths. Mr. Pitt ſaid, "That the whole ſcheme of politics now "adopted was flagrantly abſurd and deſperate. It "was no other than to gather and combine the "powers of the continent into an alliance of mag-"nitude ſufficient to withſtand the efforts of France

"and

" and her adherents againſt the electorate of Ha-
" nover, *at the ſingle expenſe of Great Britain.* The
" three laſt wars with France had coſt Britain above
" *one hundred and twenty millions of money*; the pre-
" ſent exhibited a proſpect of an effuſion of treaſure
" ſtill more enormous; and when we conſider, add-
" ed he, that ſuch immenſe iſſues of money are to
" be ſupplied with new *loans*, who will anſwer for
" the conſequence, or venture to enſure us from a
" national bankruptcy? *We have ſuffered ourſelves to*
" *be deceived by names and ſounds, the general cauſe, the*
" *balance of power, the liberty of Europe*, and have
" exhauſted our wealth without any rational object."
He ſaid the expenſe of thus defending Hanover would ſoon exceed the value of the fee ſimple of that electorate; and he ſaid truly, for ſo it has.

The diſturbance which firſt agitated America preſently extended itſelf to the Eaſt Indies, the dependancies of England and France, and finally thundered throughout Europe, where England was obliged to fight or to pay all the powers, only becauſe her king had the misfortune to be elector of Hanover.

In a word, all the great powers of Europe now ranged themſelves on one ſide or the other; the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria entered into an alliance, and England and Pruſſia, with others in the pay of Great Britain, formed an oppoſition, which gave birth to a war which deſolated the world for many years, and loaded England with a debt which we feel at this moment.

Although

Although the king of Pruſſia had his own dominions to defend on the continent, and ought to have been more in earneſt in the war than England, who could alone be actuated by a zeal to preſerve and ſecure Hanover; yet *for this purpoſe* England conſented even to ſubſidize the king of Pruſſia, and to pay him, for his exertions in the war, the annual ſum of 670,600 *l.*

This dreadful war raged during the life of George the Second, and ended not at his death, which happened in 1760, in the 34th year of his reign. He was a weak and ignorant man, very unequal to the government of a great nation, and very unwarrantably attached to the excluſive and narrow intereſts of the electorate of Hanover. The country rejoiced more on occaſion of the acceſſion of the third George, than they lamented on that of the death of his grandfather.

The Engliſh had ſuffered many terrible evils by chooſing a foreign family to rule over them; but they now hoped their ſufferings were at an end, when they ſaw a prince born and educated amongſt them aſcend the throne. They believed that they ſhould not again have to lament, that the intereſts of England were careleſsly and wantonly ſacrificed to the miſerable deſigns of Hanoverian councils; and they now rejoiced that they had gotten an Engliſhman from the Lord to be their king and governor. They ſaw, or thought they ſaw, in this event, *that God had not forgotten to be gracious.*

The

The king read a ſpeech to his parliament, in which he was made to ſay, that *he gloried in the name of a Briton*, and that he loved peace; to procure which he was determined vigorouſly to proſecute the war. The parliament, tranſported that the king ſhould profeſs himſelf ſo kind, voted the ſupplies with eagerneſs, for the purpoſe of *obtaining peace*, and *ſecuring the proteſtant intereſt*. The ſupplies amounted to *nineteen millions*; But *peace* and *the proteſtant religion* were good things, and ought to be purchaſed at any price. This war, which had begun in America about a piece of land, was now to be carried on for the proteſtant religion, and the atheiſt king of Pruſſia was to fight the battles of the Lord and of his anointed. It is not unworthy of remark, that this country has ſcarcely ever been drawn into a war without religion being in ſome way or other ſaid to be implicated in its cauſe. William Robertſon, the hiſtorian of Scotland and America, declared upon his death bed, when he heard that the Engliſh were about to make war upon France after the revolution in that country, and that *religion* was made the pretext for the commencement of hoſtilities, that the *inhabitants of Britain were the moſt ſuperſtitious people in Europe*, the people of the Netherlands alone excepted.

Overtures were made, in 1761, by the French court for a general pacification, which ended moſt unfortunately. The king of France was not unwilling to agree to the terms of his Britannic majeſty

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as far as his own individual intereſts were concerned, but he wiſhed to obtain ſome advantages for Spain, and to ſettle ſome diſputes between the Spaniſh and Engliſh governments, which might afterwards iſſue in a war which might again diſturb the repoſe of Europe before it had recovered from its fatigue. The haughty Pitt took fire at theſe overtures, and the propoſitions of peace were converted into a new occaſion for war, which afterwards took place between England and Spain.

After a ſucceſsful campaign againſt Spain, preliminaries of peace were ſigned, in 1762, between the miniſters of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. Pitt loudly and paſſionately declaimed againſt theſe preliminaries; but Lord Bute had now ſucceeded to the government of the kingdom, and a *majority* in parliament ſanctioned the deciſions of the Scot *.

By this treaty the province of Canada was ceded

* It may be agreeable to ſome to read the character which the king of Pruſſia has given of Pitt and Bute; our readers will not queſtion the juſtneſs of his opinion of the latter, but, we hope, the true character of the former is now too well known for any to think he merited the eulogium of the literary warrior. "Deux hommes ſe trouvoient à la tête de ce gouvernement. "L'un étoit Pitt; il avoit l'ame élevée, un eſprit capable de "grands projets, de la fermeté dans l'exécution, un attachment "inébranlable à ſes opinions, parcequ'il les croyoit avantageuſes à "ſa patrie qu'il aimoit. L'autre c'étoit Bute; it avoit été gou"verneur du Roi. Plus ambitieux, qu' habile, il vouloit domi"ner à l'ombre de l'autorité ſouveraine."

to

to England, and all Louiſiana on the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, as well as Cape Breton and the other iſlands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence. In the Weſt Indies, Grenada and the Grenadines, Dominique, St. Vincents, and Tobago, were ceded to England. In Africa, Senegal and its dependencies were ſecured to England. In the Eaſt Indies, Mahomed Aly Khan was acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic; and Salabat Ling ſabah of the Decan, by his moſt chriſtian majeſty, who likewiſe renounced all acquiſitions made on the coaſt of Coromandel ſince the year 1749, and engaged not to erect any fortifications in any part of Bengal. Minorca was to be reſtored to England, and the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed. The territories belonging to the elector of Hanover were to be evacuated by the French king, and alſo the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, and Guelders, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty.

The king of Spain cedes to England the two Floridas, and all his territories in America to the eaſt or ſouth-eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi. He alſo relinquiſhes his pretenſions to the right of fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland. He eſtabliſhes to the Engliſh the privilege of cutting logwood on the coaſt of Honduras, and agrees to reſtore what he had taken from Portugal.

England agrees to reſtore to France, Belleiſle, the iſland of Goree in Africa, and the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucie, in the Weſt; with

with Pondicherri and Chandernagore in the Eaſt. She recognizes the right of France to fiſh at Newfoundland, and reſtores the fortreſs of the Havannah and the Manillas to Spain.

So ended this war of ſeven years, by which England gained ſome freſh territory, but loſt thouſands of her beſt men, and incurred a debt of 72,111,004 *l.* *

The people of England gained nothing by theſe dear bought conqueſts, and the wretched labourer was taxed for ever with the payment of the intereſt of this enormous additional debt, whilſt the widow and the orphan had reaſon to curſe the government, which, from the wantonneſs of ambition or avarice, had deprived them of the charm and prop of life.

Nor did the miſchiefs of the war end here. It was followed by conſequences of ſtill more terrible import. The debt of the nation was now become enormous, and demanded immenſe payments in intereſt. The miniſters of the day, anxious to acquire and preſerve popularity, looked out for new objects of taxation. Their eye reſted on the map of America. They ſaid, from this country we will draw our reſources, and no complaints ſhall damp our joys. Mr. Grenville was a miniſter accuſtomed to the detail of office, but utterly incapable of conceiving great deſigns with the wiſdom which foreſees their effect. He determined to raiſe a revenue

* Chalmers. Price.

by

by taxing America, which was to be paid entire into the exchequer of Great Britain. No example of this kind was afforded by the hiſtory of America. Some ſlight taxes had indeed been impoſed upon America, but they conſiſted only of export and import duties, deſigned avowedly for the purpoſe of commercial regulation. He was determined to *extend* the power of Britain over her colonies; and as early as March 1764, was a reſolution paſſed in the houſe of commons, at the motion of the miniſter, importing that it would be proper to impoſe certain *ſtamp duties* in the colonies, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue payable into the Britiſh exchequer.

The next year, 1765, the ſtamp act paſſed the two houſes of parliament, and received the royal aſſent. This, however, was not done without much oppoſition. It was aſſerted by Mr. Pitt that England had *no right* to tax America; and it was affirmed that taxation and repreſentation ought always to go together, and that the one is unlawful where the other does not exiſt. By the miniſter it was affirmed that the Americans owed to the Engliſh great obligations, and that they were bound in *gratitude* to ſubmit to this impoſition. Theſe obſervations were met by one more juſt and pertinent, that the parliament of England, ſince the year 1756, had eight times voted free gifts to the Americans in reward for their paſt ſervices, and in acknowledgment that their *exertions* had exceeded their *ability*; and that the Americans did not object to the *ſum* about

to

to be extorted from them, but to the *manner* in which it was impoſed. They alledged that as the payment of a penny in rent made the largeſt eſtate leaſehold, ſo the admiſſion of the Engliſh parliament to draw the ſmalleſt ſum by illegal means, without a repreſentation of the American people, from America, eſtabliſhed a principle which nothing could control, and which would effectually eſtabliſh an unconditional tyranny over the colonies.

It is only neceſſary in this place to obſerve, that if repreſentation be claimed as a right by any people, it is neceſſarily the right of all, and of every individual If it be admitted to be a wiſe *expedient* for the preſervation of all that is dear to man, then who ought to be denied that which is of ſuch ſalutary operation? Certainly not a mighty continent, under the dominion of an iſland more than three thouſand miles diſtant, whoſe population ſhall preſently exceed the myriads of haughty Europe.

In one word, government is either of human or divine origin; it is either the appointment of men, or the ordinance of God. If the latter, men have nothing to do with government but to obey it; yet who was the divine governor of America? Some Indian chief, certainly no European king. If government be the appointment of men, it is the creature of choice; and if ſo, if America willed to be repreſented, its will was the ſupreme law; and *every man* in *every country* ought to be conſulted; and whatever form of government, monarchy, ariſtocracy, or de-

 mocracy,

mocracy, be the choice of the majority in every country, *that only is its rightful government.*

In the eye of philoſophy, therefore, it cannot admit of a queſtion, whether in her diſpute with England America was right. *Force* and *impoſition* are names unknown to philoſophy in the ſcience of government. The perſecuted ſons of freedom, proſcribed by thoſe who aſſumed a right to govern only to deſtroy them, fled from Europe to ſeek, among hiſſing ſerpents and roaring wild beaſts, the protection refuſed to them by the Lord's anointed. Their ſons ſympathized with the ſorrows of their fathers, and the ſinewed arm of toil tore from the rude boſom of nature the ſimple fare of proud and honeſt independence.

Whence, tyrants, do you derive your authority over him who derives his ſupport from nature, and protection only from his courage and his God? Ridiculous pretenſions! There are not, in the vocabulary of idiotiſm itſelf, words ſufficiently characteriſtic of that inanity of mind which he diſcovers, who attempts to defend the meaſures of Britain in her attack upon the liberties of America.

The intelligence of the paſſing of the ſtamp act was felt like an earthquake through every province in America; and, after the firſt ſhock was over, all the inhabitants ran together to conſult where they ſhould ſhelter themſelves in ſafety. They were animated by one ſpirit, and the news of their union and their courage aſtoniſhed the petty politicians of England.

England. The miniſtry was changed, and the ſtamp act was repealed; but at the ſame time a declaratory act was paſſed, aſſerting the right of Britain to bind the colonies in *all caſes whatever*.

Although the avarice of Britain was thus laid aſleep, yet it did but ſleep. It was not dead. Nay it ſlept in armour, ready at a moment's warning, and at any call, to riſe in hoſtile attitude and ſpring upon its prey.

In the year 1770 a diſpute took place between Spain and England about Falkland Iſlands, ſituated in the Magellanic Ocean; but remarkable for nothing but their barrenneſs and their diſtance. The Engliſh had taken poſſeſſion of theſe worthleſs iſlands, to which Spain advanced a prior claim. The minions of the court panted for war, and valorous John Bull called aloud for the plunder and murder of the curſed Spaniards. The miniſters, however, at length found it convenient to drop the idea of war; the diſpute was amicably adjuſted, and Dr. Samuel Johnſon wrote a ſplendid pamphlet to prove, that the final concluſion of the miniſters was right, and that Falkland Iſlands were too trivial an object for the contention of two mighty kingdoms.

From the repeal of the ſtamp act until open war was waged with America, the idea of ſubduing and taxing the colonies was never abandoned, but meaſure ſucceeded meaſure, the object of which was to *ſuppreſs the ſpirit of reſiſtance* which had ſhewn itſelf in America, and finally to reduce the people of that

continent to implicit obedience. The *principle* never varied, it aſſumed no new form, but was attempted to be enforced by means as odious as the principle was tyrannical.

Laws were made to bring over the ſeditious of America *to be tried in England*, for offences committed at the diſtance of three thouſand miles, where their juries participated no common intereſt or feeling, and where the accuſed could call no witneſs in his defence, nor once hear the voice of friendſhip to conſole him.

It would require a volume to narrate the progreſs of the two countries to open hoſtilities, and it is as unneceſſary as it would be tedious; it is enough to ſay, that the beginning of the year 1775 was the ſad æra of open war between Britain and her colonies *.

As early as 1777 England thought ſhe had cauſe to be diſſatisfied with Holland. The king had, with his own hand, written to the ſtates of Holland to ſend him the Scots brigade in their ſervice. They had refuſed to grant his requeſt; and one of the deputies of the province of Overyſſel, on the debate on this ſubject, had been bold enough to employ words

* The reader who wiſhes to know the riſe and progreſs of this unhappy diſpute, may obtain the neceſſary information by reading the conciſe, ſpirited, and luminous narrative of theſe tranſactions in Mr. Belſham's Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third, a work in many reſpects worthy of the attention of every Engliſhman.

evidently

evidently reflecting on England, and in favour of America. Irritated beyond meaſure at this, the king of England ordered his ambaſſador at the Hague, Sir Joſeph York, to preſent a memorial to the States General, which, in lofty and inſulting language, complained that the governor of St. Euſtatia had permitted the ſeizure of an Engliſh veſſel by an American pirate within cannon ſhot of the iſland, and that he had returned the ſalute of a rebel flag. He demands the recall of the governor, and a diſavowal of the ſalute. No anſwer was given to this memorial; but the demand of the Engliſh king was complied with. England had not *yet* determined upon hoſtilities with Holland, elſe a plea would not have been wanting, as it never is, in ſimilar caſes, where a powerful ſtate chooſes to quarrel with a weak one.

In 1778 America formed a treaty with France, the baſis of which was, that America ſhould not lay down her arms until her independence was eſtabliſhed; this involved England in a war with France, which was on the part of that country an offenſive war, as England had not given to France any direct cauſe of quarrel.

It has been made a queſtion, whether it be *right* for one government to interfere in the internal concerns of another government. A thouſand queſtions of the very ſame nature, and admitting of the ſame anſwer, may be ſtated. Is it right for one family to interfere with the internal concerns of an-

other family? The anſwer to theſe queſtions is not difficult. *It is always right to do good.* The power of the head of a ſtate, like the power of the head of a family, is given for the *benefit* of that ſtate or family; but if it be no longer employed to that end, it is right that that power ſhould be checked, and another power employed to accompliſh what it has neglected.

The diviſions of empires are not boundaries placed by nature, over which it is criminal for any people to paſs, but artificial diſtinctions flowing from *agreements and contracts*, firſt formed for the *mutual benefit* of adjoining countries. In the affairs of men *human happineſs* is the *ultimate* conſideration, and all other conſiderations are artificial, fugitive, and ſubordinate. Whenever, therefore, it can be *aſcertained* that human happineſs will be *increaſed* by the interference of one government in the concerns of another, it is right that ſuch government ſhould ſo interfere; and as whatever it is right for any one to do it is the *duty* of him to do, as it is the duty of every one to do that which is in his power and which is *fit* to be done; ſo if one government can *do good* by interfering in the concerns of another, it is the *duty* of ſuch government ſo to interfere. We think that thus the queſtion is completely anſwered; but let no one infer that the French, in *interfering* with the Engliſh government in her conduct to the colonies, was actuated by juſtifiable motives. We have every reaſon to believe that the motives of the French

French government were invidious, malignant, and deteſtable. That it was the object of the French to humble a rival ſtate, not to ſecure the happineſs of an oppreſſed one. In this undertaking, then, the deſpotic government of France is rather to be held up to the execration than the admiration of mankind, whatever *benefit* to the world its erroneous malignity may have produced. The pious aſſertor of eternal Providence will exclaim—

" ——————I cannot look,
" Where univerſal love not ſmiles around,
" From ſeeming evil ſtill educing good,
" And better ſtill from thence and better ſtill,
" In infinite ſucceſſion——————"

It is, however, not improper to obſerve, " that " he that ſtirreth up ſtrife is like the man who letteth " out water." The war with America involved eventually this country in a war with all Europe.

In the following year, 1779, Spain publiſhed a manifeſto, and commenced hoſtilities againſt England only becauſe ſhe was the *ally* of France, and with that nation wiſhed to effect the humiliation of Britain.

Spain, however, did not enter upon this violent meaſure before ſhe had tendered her mediation to effect a peace between England and America; but it muſt not be diſſembled that her mediation was bottomed upon the condition that a truce ſhould be concluded between the two countries, and that

during the truce the American ſtates ſhould be treated as an independent power. It is curious to obſerve, in the Spaniſh manifeſto, the enumeration of a hundred inſults and injuries alledged as the ground and cauſe of the declaration of war; when England had offered no inſult, inflicted no injury on that nation!

But let not the reader be greatly ſurpriſed at this. It is no unfair ſpecimen of ſtate manifeſtoes, and the *ſolidity* of ſtate reaſons for war. As long as the people can be impoſed upon, their rulers will be fertile in impoſition.

Before the end of this year a new cauſe of ſtrife occurred between England and Holland. Paul Jones, by birth a Scotchman, a man of great talents and enterprize, had entered into the American ſervice, and carried a rich prize taken from the Engliſh into the Texel. England remonſtrated in ſtrong terms againſt Holland for permitting this; but that republic declined giving to England any ſatisfaction. The enemies of England, however, had lately increaſed ſo faſt, that ſhe did not yet chooſe to commenſe hoſtilities againſt Holland; and this treatment was recollected in ſilence.

In the beginning of the next year, 1780, Commodore Fielding fell in with a Dutch fleet of merchantmen, and demanded liberty to ſearch them for contraband goods. The Dutch admiral refuſed this permiſſion to Fielding, who immediately fired a ſhot. After each firing a broadſide the Dutch ſtruck their colours.

colours. When Fielding had ſtopped ſuch ſhips as had on board naval ſtores, the Dutch were informed that they might proſecute their voyage. The admiral refuſed, and accompanied Fielding with his convoy to Portſmouth.

This excited great indignation in the breaſts of the Dutch; but England, inſtead of granting redreſs, publiſhed a declaration that it ſuſpended, proviſionally, all the ſtipulations of the ſeveral exiſting treaties between England and Holland, and particularly the marine treaty of 1674.

The inſolence of the Engliſh upon the high ſeas was not felt by the Dutch alone, one general complaint was heard throughout Europe; and Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, entered into a confederacy, and formed an "armed neutrality," for the protection of the trade of neutral ſhips againſt the inſulting liberties exerciſed by the Engliſh. The baſis of this confederacy was juſt, and obtained univerſal approbation. It was—that neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation from port to port, and on the coaſt of the belligerent powers; and—that all the effects of the ſubjects of the belligerent powers ſhould be looked upon as free on board neutral ſhips, excepting only, warlike ſtores or ammunition.

Perhaps it is owing to the inſolence we diſplayed during this war to all the maritime powers of Europe, that at this awful criſis, when a power of gigantic ſtrength has riſen up in Europe which ſeems to threaten the independence of all its ſtates, we appear,

pear to ſhare the ſympathy of no country which boaſts of any naval force.

In September, this year, a congreſs packet was taken by an Engliſh frigate off the banks of Newfoundland, on board of which was Mr. Lawrens, late preſident of congreſs, charged with a commiſſion to Holland. His papers contained the ſketch of a treaty of commerce between the ſtates of America and Holland. This treaty had received the ſanction of Van Berkel, counſellor and penſionary of Amſterdam. England, enraged at this diſcovery, demanded of Holland ſatisfaction; which not being inſtantly granted, ſhe declared war againſt that republic December 20, 1780.

England was already at war with France, Spain, and America, and an armed neutrality was frowning at her door. Whatever cauſe of complaint, therefore, ſhe had againſt Holland, this meaſure was raſh, impolitic, and daring.

The true reaſon of the prejudice long exiſting, and now matured into war, between England and Holland, was the refuſal of that country to furniſh England with the troops which by treaty ſhe was engaged to furniſh, and which cauſed the memorial of 1777. But it ought to have been remembered that the conduct of Holland was not criminal, as ſhe was bound by treaty to furniſh troops to France; and ſhe could not now comply with the demands of one country without involving herſelf in war with the other.

Britain now found herſelf in a very dreadful ſtate. Her enemies were numerous and powerful, her finances embarraſſed, her ſons divided in opinion, her colonies revolted, and Ireland in a ſtate of fermentation. She was at laſt convinced that ſhe was not omnipotent, and ſubmitted to ſign proviſional articles of pacification with America in November 1782, by which the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent ſtates.

In the beginning of the following year, 1783, peace was made between England, France, and Spain, whoſe mutual conceſſions placed theſe three powers in nearly their former condition as to *territory*, with the important exception of the loſs of America to England, which the treaty between England and that country had already ſettled. Holland and England could not yet agree to articles of peace, England having determined not to reſtore to the Dutch Trincomalee.

In a little time, however, peace was made between England and Holland, and the former reſtored all its conqueſts to the latter, with the ſingle exception of the town of Negapatnam on the coaſt of Coromandel, which the Dutch were obliged to cede.

It is difficult to ſtate with preciſion the conſequences of any great event. Thoſe which are more immediate and palpable may be ſtated; but who can trace and eſtimate thoſe which are hidden and remote? The ſtorm which begins in St. George's Channel

Channel may be felt in the remoteſt bounds of the Atlantic, and the occurrences of this moment may influence and inſtruct a thouſand generations. Like the elements we imbibe, which ſympathize with their minuteſt particles, the minds of men are ſo formed and connected that the meditations of a philoſopher may become the principles of nations, may teach law to the ſavage, and freedom to the ſons of oppreſſion.

Little was it once imagined that the fiſhermen of Galilee ſhould give law to Europe and America, or the merchant of Mecca become the legiſlator of half a world. It is not yet believed, that the voice of liberty which was heard in the wilderneſs of America, was the herald of general emancipation, and proclaimed the birth of a new creation.

It is not, however, difficult to ſay, that by the war with America England was involved in a debt of more than one hundred and ten millions ſterling*. The men who periſhed in this ſtruggle are not remembered. We groan under the burthen of the taxes which the debt thus contracted has impoſed upon us as its intereſt; but thoſe who were buried in a foreign country, or in the pathleſs ocean, occupy not our thoughts. We hearken to a tale of murder, and forget it—but we curſe the man who deprives us of a ſhilling! Chriſtianity and philoſophy ſpeak another language; but *we are men*, and deaf

* See Chalmers.

alike

alike to the precepts of the one and the maxims of the other.

As early as the year 1787 England was again in arms, and war was the expectation of her people. Diſturbances had taken place in Holland, and the ſtates and the people appeared to unite againſt the authority of the ſtadtholder. The ſtadtholder relied upon his kinſman the king of Pruſſia for ſupport, and the ſtates looked to France for protection. When France appeared to take a part in the quarrel, England did not long heſitate. A mighty armament was undertaken, and carried into execution with an energy which aſtoniſhed all Europe. But the Dutch, mighty in council, but contemptible in the field; bold in the ſenate, but paltrons in the camp; made no reſiſtance to the king of Pruſſia; and thus the ſtadtholder was reinſtated in his authority, and the armaments of France and of England ceaſed. This *attempt at war* was defeated; but the preparations had operated favourably to the minions of the court.

The next attempt to involve this country in war was made in May 1790. Some valuable furs had been procured on the weſtern coaſt of North America by Captain Cooke. This led the Engliſh, who in commerce have buried all the ſocial affections and every moral principle, to attempt a ſettlement where ſuch furs might be always had. The Indians, in 1788, granted them a place called *Nootka Sound*, in about the 50th degree of latitude. This was regarded by Spain as an invaſion of the rights of ſovereignty

vereignty which that country claimed over this diviſion of the weſtern world. A Spaniſh man of war was, therefore, fitted out by the viceroy of Mexico, which ſoon ſeized the fort which protected the ſettlement, and captured the Engliſh veſſels found on the coaſt. This done, the national ſtandard was hoiſted, and the line of coaſt from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of latitude was declared to belong to the Spaniſh monarch. The captured veſſels were, however, reſtored, as the viceroy imputed the conduct of the merchants to *ignorance of the rights of Spain.*

In all this, as far as Great Britain is conſidered, Spain was right; for, although neither the right of Spain to the country weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, nor the right of England to the country eaſt of that river, was founded in nature or reaſon, yet by the treaty of 1763 it was ſo expreſsly ſettled by theſe two countries. The king of Spain, perfectly open and candid, confident in the validity of his pretenſions, and not thirſting for blood, offered to refer the matter in diſpute to any one of the crowned heads of Europe. But the merchant's miniſter, William Pitt, was actuated by different feelings, and previous to all diſcuſſion demanded ſatisfaction for the injury which had been received by Great Britain. The houſe of commons ſanctioned the conduct of the miniſter, and a million was voted for warlike preparations.

Spain, in this dilemma, applied to the court of France to know whether, ſince the revolution in that

that country, the French nation would abide by the family compact. A report on the ſubject, from the diplomatic committee, was preſented to the national aſſembly by the Count de Mirabeau.

The report ſtates, that it would be wrong to annul the ſolemn engagements ſubſiſting between France and Spain; but amidſt its anxiety for the protection of Spain, it ſhews the national reluctance to quarrel with England. Indeed ever ſince the revolution of France had taken place the French had cultivated the moſt enthuſiaſtic admiration of the Engliſh, and nothing appeared to be more the wiſh of that nation, than that all enmity ſhould be forever forgotten which had at any time divided the two countries.

Spain, convinced of the reluctance of France now to engage in a war with England, prudently made her peace, by granting to England reſtitution and indemnification, reſtoring the ſettlement at Nootka to this country, and granting a free navigation and the right of fiſhery in the ſouthern Pacific. The liberty of trade was granted to England to all the north-weſt coaſts of America, and the two powers were reſtrained alike from attempting any ſettlement nearer to Cape Horn than the moſt ſouthern of the ſettlements which Spain had already formed.

This is a ſpecimen how a powerful country treats with a weak one, and the merchants of England boaſted of the happieſt end of their zeal. *Their miniſter* and his minions were perhaps diſappointed; for,

for, though this *attempt at war* gave them the diſpoſal and enjoyment of ſome treaſure, *actual war* would have been to them much more profitable.

The benevolent man, however, cannot obſerve, without wonder and indignation, the parliament of England voting a million of the money of the country in defence of a poſſeſſion ſcarcely worth any thing, and without any regard at all to the queſtion of *right*. Well might the great Frederick of Pruſſia exclaim, "O, public right, how is the time "waſted which is ſpent in the ſtudy of thee!"

Diſappointed in this *attempt at war*, but encouraged by the profits of preparation, the Engliſh miniſter ſeized an early occaſion of involving the country again in hoſtilities.

He had agreed with the king of Pruſſia to demand that the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould make peace with Turkey on the terms of a general reſtitution of conqueſts. This the empreſs refuſed to accede to; but not forgetful of the power of England and Pruſſia, the empreſs offered to make peace with Turkey if ſhe ſhould be permitted, as an indemnification for the expenſes of the war, to retain the country eaſtward of the Neiſter. This tract of country was very barren, and valuable only for the fortreſs of Oczakow which it contained, as a ſecurity for the other acquiſitions of the empreſs.

On the 28th of March, 1791, William Pitt delivered a meſſage to the houſe of commons, ſignifying, "that as his majeſty's endeavours had not been "ſucceſsful

" ſucceſsful in effecting a pacification, he judged it " neceſſary to augment his naval force." This meſſage he accompanied with a flippant ſpeech, urging the neceſſity of guarding the *balance of power* in Europe; and moved an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him of the co-operation of his faithful commons. But this *attempt at war* was alſo deſtined to be a mere *abortion.*

Charles James Fox, one of the moſt accompliſhed men of his age, and whoſe virtuous diſpoſitions are, if poſſible, ſtill more elevated than his talents, bore down upon the ſtrutting pettifogger with ſuch ſtrength and energy of reaſon and eloquence, that he made him appear ridiculous to the houſe of commons.

The miniſter, feeling his ſeat ſink under him, but never deſerted by cunning and fineſſe, now ſent his minions to collect the opinion of his maſters, the merchants and traders of London. The report was unfavourable, the fortreſs of Oczakow offered nothing to their rapacity, and *their* miniſter was ſuffered, covered with diſgrace, to leave the balance of power to its fate.

As a maiden who has been ſeverely diſappointed is ready to ruſh into the arms of the next ſuitor at any hazard; ſo this arrogant and irritated miniſter, foiled in his attempts at war, was prepared to fight the firſt country which afforded him a pretext for quarrel, or, with Don Quixote, to fight with windmills.

It was not long before he obtained his wishes; and it is remarkable that he began the career of war in a spirit of unparalleled exultation and triumph. Ancient wisdom has admonished insolent adventurers: "Let not him that putteth on the harness boast "himself as him that putteth it off." But what are the admonitions of ancient wisdom to one who conceiveth that all wisdom is his own—that he can correct former sages and instruct the present?

It will now be necessary to state the pretexts which this minister set up as reasons for involving England in a war with France.

A revolution, the most extraordinary which ever occurred in the history of the world, had taken place in France. The king of France was deprived of a great part of his prerogatives; and the people, by their representatives, had declared themselves the sovereign. The queen of France was allied to the emperor of Germany, who saw with indignation his sister deprived of her former power and influence, who cherished the emigrants who fled from the influence of the new government, and who was determined to attempt the restoration of the throne to its ancient power.

Notwithstanding the hostile dispositions of the emperor to the new government, he did not immediately see an opportunity of commencing hostilities, and he continued to endeavour to lay asleep the jealousy which his conduct had excited in the national assembly of France. Accordingly, on the 22d of

January, 1791, the French king conveyed to the aſſembly a letter from the emperor full of expreſſions of amity and good will, which he declared wanted nothing for their complete conſolidation but the revocation of the decree of Auguſt 4, 1790. This was the decree which annihilated all feudal and ſeignorial rights, and which had affected ſome of the petty princes of Germany who held fiefs in Lorraine and Alſace. Wherever this decree had deprived of property compenſation had been offered by the aſſembly, and ſome of theſe princes, for whom the emperor affected to be intereſted, had actually accepted this compenſation. This was a mere *pretext*; and the emperor had already ſtationed *cordons* of troops on the Suabian frontier, and to the north from the circles of the Rhine to the Meuſe. His reſolution was taken, but the intereſts of the German princes weighed nothing in his mind.

Freſh proofs were quickly afforded of the diſpoſition of Germany. When the king of France accepted the conſtitutional act, a decree of indemnity paſſed reſpecting the emigrants, on condition of their return to their country in a time limited in the decree. The agent charged with the notification of this decree, far from being received with due reſpect by the princes at Coblentz, was inſulted, and finally impriſoned, on pretence that he wanted a paſſport.

This violence, and the continued military preparations of the emigrants, gave birth to a new decree

in November 1791, by which it was declared that Prince Louis Staniſlaus Xavier, if he did not return to France in ſix months, ſhould forfeit his eventual claim to the regency; and a ſubſequent decree pronounced that the French were *hoſtilely* aſſembled on the frontier, and that thoſe who did not return before January 1, 1792, ſhould forfeit their eſtates, without prejudice, however, to their children.

The empty aſſurances of the diſſembling emperor could now no longer deceive the French, who not only knew that the German princes acted under his ſanction in ſhewing favour to the emigrants, but likewiſe that the emperor, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, had ſigned a convention at Pilnitz in Saxony, Auguſt 1791, every way inimical to the peace and intereſt of France, though the French king had not announced any thing of the kind to the aſſembly, whom he wiſhed to deceive.

Towards the cloſe of this year the emperor became more explicit. On the 21ſt of December notice was given to the French ambaſſador at Vienna, that the emperor, finding that the elector of Treves laboured under apprehenſions of the French, had been conſtrained to order Marſhal Bender to march to his relief.

The correſpondence between the courts of Paris and Vienna was laid before the aſſembly March 2, 1792, from which it appeared that the imperial troops in the Netherlands were nearly 90,000 men; and the diſpatch of Prince de Kaunitz, of February 17th,

17th, avowed openly the concert formed with other powers, not for indemnifying the German princes for their feudal rights, not for protecting the elector of Treves, but expreſsly for *preſerving unimpaired the monarchy of France.*

On the firſt of March, this year, the emperor Leopold the Second died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Francis the Second, who adopted the maxims, and acted upon the ſyſtem, of his father. He preſently aſſured the king of Pruſſia that he would ſtrictly adhere to the terms of the treaty of Pilnitz.

The anſwer of the court of Vienna to the court of France on the ſubject of its armaments and intentions, at laſt arrived, and conſiſted of three particulars. 1. The court of Vienna inſiſted upon the reſtitution of the feudal rights of the German Princes in Lorraine and Alſace. 2. The reſtoration of Avignon to the pope; and 3. That adequate ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the neighbouring powers that they ſhould have nothing to dread from the weakneſs of the internal government of France.

The laſt of theſe demands was all for which the court of Vienna was concerned; but it was not expreſſed in an intelligible manner, though the wiſh of the emperor was eaſy to be underſtood. He wanted to alter the internal government of France to his and his neighbours' wiſhes; and had his demands been admitted, leſs than this could not have been granted him. Had the French accepted theſe propoſitions,

they muſt have laid their conſtitution at the emperor's feet, and requeſted him to form for them a government. It was his determination to *preſerve the monarchy unimpaired*. The French, not willing thus to reſign their ſovereignty and independence, and ſeeing the hoſtile armies increaſe immenſely in numbers at their very door, declared war againſt the king of Hungary April 20, 1792.

We have thought it right to ſtate the riſe of the war between France and Germany, as it is intimately connected with the riſe of the war between France and England, who choſe Germany for her great and good ally, and made with that power a common cauſe. He who can doubt that this war on the part of Germany was *offenſive*, notwithſtanding the formal declaration of war firſt took place on the part of France, and that its ſole object was to reſtore the monarch to deſpotic power, muſt be ſomething more or leſs than man.

When France declared war ſhe was ſtill unprepared and defenceleſs; but ſhe knew that this was the policy of her king, in order to ſurrender the country into the hands of the emperor, and ſhe came to this meaſure to effect that *preparation* which without it ſhe could not have obtained.

The news of the revolution in France was heard with very oppoſite emotions by different claſſes of the people of England. The court, the clergy, the lawyers, and the wealthy of every deſcription, from its commencement regarded it with horror. The men

men of letters, and thoſe of the middle claſſes of ſociety, hailed it as the dawn of univerſal freedom and happineſs. As early as the beginning of the year 1790, Edmund Burke, the Cicero of the eighteenth century, pronounced a philippic againſt it in the houſe of commons, although the king of France was then in ſafety, and the throne appeared to be in no danger from any party *within* the kingdom of France. Charles James Fox, whatever were the errors of his youth, *now* the friend of freedom and of human happineſs, oppoſed to the reprobation of Mr. Burke his own warm and important approbation.

The middle claſſes, however, in England continued to rejoice in that event, and the anniverſary of the revolution was commemorated with great feſtivity. A ſociety, calling itſelf the Revolution Society, which met annually to celebrate the Engliſh revolution of 1688, had, in the preceding November, invited Richard Price, a man well known for his writings in favour of liberty in the American war, and diſtinguiſhed as the moſt eminent calculator and financier in the kingdom, to preach to them on that occaſion. Towards the cloſe of his ſermon, which was full of animation and wiſdom, he touched upon the French revolution, and expreſſed his admiration of that event.

Mr. Burke perceiving that, notwithſtanding the execration of the great, *many* in England ſanctioned the French revolution with their approbation, publiſhed, at the latter end of the year 1790, his cele-

brated "*Reflections*;" fraught with all the ſplendour of the moſt luxuriant eloquence. This book was circulated with incredible induſtry by the clergy and the agents of government, and very powerfully impreſſed the public mind, confirming prejudices already formed againſt the tranſactions in France, and kindling hatred of the French in breaſts which had not before been agitated with the ſubject. He threatened Europe with *a general revolution*, and all the dependents of government were rouſed into fury.

As a reply to this work preſently appeared a volume entitled "the Rights of Man," written by Thomas Paine, a man deſtitute of the advantages of a learned education, but who poſſeſſes vaſt energy of mind and inexhauſtible powers of ridicule, and who has had the ſingular fortune to connect his name with the hiſtory of three powerful empires. It was unfortunate for the peace, and favourable to the views of the miniſter of this country, that this book tended rather to increaſe than allay the public ferment, for it foſtered the idea of a general revolution.

The effect of this book was great; it made the favourers of the French more firm and bold, and it afforded to the miniſter a pretext for commencing hoſtilities againſt France, by ſo alarming the minds of the friends of government as to prepare them to go all lengths in violence. The French revolution muſt be overthrown, ſaid the friends of government,

or we periſh; and Pitt, by every means, led the public to that conviction.

Although the French ſaw, with concern, that the miniſter of England meditated an attack upon them, yet it was not till they had come to an open rupture with the emperor that Mr. Pitt dared to plunge the nation into actual war. In the mean time the ſound of ſedition and treaſon was heard throughout the kingdom, and an increaſing alarm gave promiſe of ſuch a ſtate of the public mind as ſhould aſſure the accompliſhment of the miniſter's wiſhes.

Whilſt every poſſible mean was uſed to irritate the Engliſh againſt France, the preparations of the emperor were ſeen with delight, and it was univerſally underſtood that the Engliſh miniſter had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz. No ſooner was it known that a rupture between France and the emperor was certain, than meaſures of alarm and preparation for hoſtilities with France were purſued with tenfold energy. A proclamation was iſſued, advertiſing plots, ſeditions, conſpiracies, and inſurrections, in England. Proſecutions were commenced againſt the publiſhers of libels, committees of informers were eſtabliſhed in every town, men were indicted for careleſs and haſty expreſſions, and no man thought himſelf ſafe in the company of his neighbour. The friends of Mr. Pitt procured addreſſes from every part of the country, offering the lives and fortunes of the ſubſcribers for the ſupport of government, which they pretended was threatened with

with danger. The miniſter's newſpapers teemed with perſonal abuſe and accuſation, and every one inquired, what ſhall be the end of that, of which theſe are the means?

Such was the ſtate of England when war was proclaimed between France and the emperor; but the French, not yet without hope, and burning with anxiety to ſecure the friendſhip of England, cauſed their king at this moment to write a letter to the king of England, ſoliciting in the moſt preſſing terms the friendſhip of England, and ſtating that England and France united might command peace to Europe.

A cold and evaſive anſwer was given to this letter, and it plainly appeared that the Britiſh miniſtry meditated not the peace of Europe, but the combination of Europe againſt devoted France.

The approach of the combined armies of the emperor and Pruſſia to the French capital filled all minds with agonizing anxiety, and the minions of Mr. Pitt expreſſed their exultation at the certain triumph of the duke of Brunſwick, and the terrible deſtruction of the new government. The united armies were driven back and defeated, and the indignation and diſappointment of the miniſter's friends could now find no adequate expreſſion. The approach of the united armies had indeed one dreadful effect, it cauſed the depoſition of the French king, and the maſſacre in the priſons.

In the midſt of the exultation of the French at the

the defeat of the combined armies, the national aſſembly decreed, November 19, 1792, " That the " French nation will grant fraternity and aſſiſtance " to all thoſe people who wiſh to obtain liberty— " and it charges the generals to give aſſiſtance to " ſuch people, and to defend citizens who have ſuf- " fered and are now ſuffering in the cauſe of li- " berty."

This decree could not be directed againſt the Engliſh. The French generals were not about to attack or to come near this country, and the inſtruction to them would have been impertinent, had it had any reference to this country; beſides, the French were not only at peace with England, but anxious to make that peace perpetual. Such an opportunity was not, however, to be loſt. Mr. Pitt proclaimed aloud, that the ſeditious of this country were the people to whom the decree offered aſſiſtance, and the people, already alarmed and diſappointed, eagerly laid hold of his opinion on that head.

The aſſembly of France did not ſtop here, but decreed that the duchy of Savoy ſhould form an 84th department of the French republic, and that the navagation of the Scheldt ſhould be opened.

On the virtual depoſition of the French monarch, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris received orders from the court of London to quit France. Although the French government conſidered this as an evidence of the hoſtility of England, yet they inſtructed their ambaſſador

baſſador Chauvelin to uſe every effort to preſerve a good underſtanding with England.

The Engliſh miniſter, anxious to ruſh into immediate hoſtilities, made an eager and officious offer, unſolicited and unſought, to the ſtates-general of aſſiſtance in caſe of need. They, however, declined his offer, and declared that they entertained no dread of an attack. He now, in direct violation of the commercial treaty, laid an excluſive embargo on all veſſels freighted with corn for France. This was the beginning of his ſtarvation ſcheme, in humble imitation of ſtarvation Wedderburne, who was now become his friend.

In confirmation of the anxiety of France to cultivate peace with England, the travellers who paſſed through that country at the cloſe of the year 1792, aſſure us, that the apprehenſion of a rupture with the only nation of Europe they admired, gave all the French inexpreſſible pain. But the miniſter of England was determined upon hoſtilities, and in order *to apply* the decree of the 19th November, another royal proclamation was iſſued December 1, 1792, in which it is declared, that evil diſpoſed perſons, *in concert with perſons in foreign parts*, were ſtill endeavouring to ſubvert the laws and conſtitution, and that the ſpirit they had excited had lately ſhewn itſelf in *riot* and *inſurrection*. The militia were called out, and parliament aſſembled, according to the exiſting proviſions in caſes of actual rebellion (although it ſtood prorogued to January 3, 1793),

1793), on December 13. The bank was doubly guarded, the town was fortified, and every man inquired of his neighbour after *the plot*. All ſaw now that war was determined upon.

On the 17th of December M. Chauvelin preſented a memorial to Lord Grenville, in which he ſtated that the executive council had charged him to demand whether they were now to conſider England as a neutral or a hoſtile power, and at the ſame time to aſſure England of their friendly diſpoſition and anxiety to preſerve peace. He alſo, alluding to the decree of November 19, diſclaims the idea of the French thereby favouring inſurrections and diſcontents in other countries *, and in the moſt ſolemn manner declares, that France will not attack Holland ſo long as that power adheres to the principles of neutrality. The navigation of the Scheldt he af-

* The government of France declared that this decree had for its object nothing more than the aſſiſtance of a people to obtain their liberty, where they were *all* anxious for ſuch a bleſſing. This was treated with great ridicule by the Engliſh miniſtry, and it was triumphantly aſked, How could a whole people need aſſiſtance? What could oppoſe the will of a whole people? This is a pitiful quibble; for by a whole people is to be underſtood the whole body of *the governed* in any country; for who is ignorant of the diſtinction always obſerved in ſpeaking and writing between the government and the people? There is ſurely no abſurdity in this explanation; for every one knows, that twenty thouſand armed men, well organized and commanded, may keep in ſubjection millions of unarmed and unconnected citizens.

firms

firms to be of too little importance to be the cauſe of war, and can only be uſed as a pretext to cover premeditated aggreſſion.

This memorial received from Lord Grenville an unofficial and very inſolent anſwer. Grenville ſays, that if France be deſirous of peace with England ſhe muſt confine herſelf *within her own territory*. This amounted to nothing leſs than a demand that France ſhould *renounce all her conqueſts* previous to any negociation with England. Strange language to be held out to a conqueror in the moment of triumph! Language which has been ſince returned by France to England.

The executive council of France replied to Lord Grenville Jan. 4, 1793. It complained that the decree of November 19 had been miſunderſtood, and explained it as having no reference to England. The navigation of the Scheldt it declared to be a matter of indifference to England; that if the Belgians chooſe to deprive themſelves of it, France will not oppoſe it; that all conqueſt France will renounce, and hold the Netherlands no longer than the continuance of the war.

It ought not to be forgotten, that there was a time in which England did regard the opening of the Scheldt as a matter of indifference; for it looked to that event without emotion, when the emperor Joſeph the Second attempted it, no longer ago than the year 1784. But the times had changed, and the

the Scheldt now was an important object. Lord Grenville replied to this memorial, but declared that the explanations it contained were insufficient, and that the king would not receive the new letters of credence of Chauvelin from the French republic. Chauvelin then requested a personal interview with Lord Grenville, but that was positively refused; and, on January 24, 1793, he received orders to quit the kingdom in eight days!

M. Maret, a confidential agent of Le Brun, secretary for foreign affairs, was at this moment on his way to England with fresh dispatches from the executive council; but being informed of the dismissal of Chauvelin on his arrival in London, he did not open his commission, but merely announced his arrival to Lord Grenville. *No advances were made to him by the English court!*

By an express provision of the treaty of 1786, the dismissal of an ambassador was in future to be regarded as a virtual *declaration of war*, and so this was now considered in France; and therefore on the first of February, 1793, the assembly decreed that the republic of France was at war with the king of Great Britain and the stadtholder of Holland.

Thus were the wishes of the English minister gratified, and a war, caused by his ambition and the desire of the privileged orders in this country, to overturn the government of France, and prevent for ever all reformation in all countries, commenced, amidst

amidſt the ſhouts and triumph of the minions of the miniſter *.

It was the fate of England to begin this war with many powerful allies; but a few years have converted moſt of her allies into very formidable enemies. The year 1795 gave to France, Holland and Spain as allies, and they became in conſequence the open enemies of England. Pruſſia made its peace with France in an early ſtage of the conteſt, and now the emperor has ſought ſafety in negotiation. Rome, the former miſtreſs of the world, has bowed to the majeſty of the French republic, and geographers are preparing a new map of Europe.

A war begun with a view to favour the perpetuity of miniſterial monopoly, to keep the human mind in its torpid ſlumber, to prevent the progreſs of reformation and the correction of abuſes in this country, appears to have cauſed violences in France at the

* Notwithſtanding it is thus evident that this war, in its commencement, was the *choice* of the Engliſh miniſtry, and *not* of the French government, it by no means follows, that we are in our turn to ſuffer the French to viſit this country, and reduce the innocent people of England to ſubjection to them. It was *wrong* for the Engliſh to invade France, it is *wrong* for France to invade England; we have ſeen the French bravely defend themſelves on their own ground (and we wiſh they had never marched off their own ground), and we muſt now, if needful, try to imitate their example in this reſpect. Every friend of humanity weeps to find that this is neceſſary, and wiſhes for *peace* with unutterable anxiety.

mention

mention of which humanity hides its head, and to have ſpread premature revolution throughout Europe; and who can tell its dreadful conſequences to England? It is yet too ſoon to enter upon the attempt. It may require a volume to report them. When I think of our ſituation, and the dangers which threaten us, my pen trembles in my hand; and I pray that, whatever be our fate, we may at the end of this conteſt be *free* and *independent*.

This review of the cauſes and conſequences of Engliſh wars has ſhewn us that war has generally been made by the overbearing power of a few individuals in the ſtate, for their own advantage, in contempt of the general intereſt; that it is one of the moſt dreadful ſcourges of the human race; and that we can only hope in future to be preſerved from its ravages by thoſe who are properly the *people*, the active population of the iſland, obtaining their due importance and weight in the national councils. We know of no other means of accompliſhing this, but a fair repreſentation of the people in parliament; and he who forwards this reform, without confuſion or blood, is entitled, we believe, to a place, in the public eſtimation, amongſt the greateſt benefactors of his ſpecies.

THE END.

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